HARVARD STUDIES IN
CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY

VOLUME 73

HARVARD STUDIES

IN

CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY

VOLUME 73

PREFATORY NOTE

The *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* are published by the authority of the President and Fellows of Harvard College on behalf of the Department of the Classics. Publication is assisted by the generosity of the Class of 1856, as well as by other gifts and bequests.

Although the chief purpose of the *Harvard Studies* is to publish articles by instructors and graduate students at Harvard, scholars in other institutions are invited to submit articles. Manuscripts should be sent to The Editorial Committee, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 320 Boylston Hall, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138.

The editors wish to express thanks to their colleagues for help in preparing the volume.

<div align="right">

G. P. Goold
Herbert Bloch
J. P. Elder
G. E. L. Owen
      Editorial Committee

</div>

CONTENTS

A STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS OF THE DIGRESSIONS IN THE *ILIAD* AND THE *ODYSSEY*

JULIA HAIG GAISSER

I. INTRODUCTION

THE major advance in dealing with the Homeric Question in this century has been made through a consideration of structure, from a careful analysis of the poems themselves to determine their component parts and how these are fused together to form the whole. Milman Parry[1] demonstrated that many of the units employed by the poet were not words but formulae, which may comprise phrases or even whole verses in the poems. From this it is not far to the idea of formulae grouped together in larger units — thematic passages — which describe standard situations: sacrifices, arrivals and departures, assemblies, and so on.[2]

Another type of structural analysis deals with more subjective aspects of the poems, with their literary rather than with their verbal structure. Such studies have attempted to find general patterns in the scenes and events of the poems, with special emphasis upon symmetry. An early attempt in this direction was made by J. T. Sheppard in 1922. In *The Pattern of the Iliad* he divides the poem into three "movements," separated from each other by "interludes." Books 1–9 form the first movement, Book 10 (the Doloneia) an interlude, Book 11 to the death of Patroclus the second movement, the shield of Achilles an interlude, and

[1] Milman Parry, *L'Épithète traditionnelle dans Homère* (Paris 1928); "Studies in the Epic Technique of Oral Verse Making: I. Homer and the Homeric Style," *HSCP* 41 (1930) 73–147; "Studies in the Epic Technique of Oral Verse Making: II. The Homeric Language as the Language of Oral Poetry," *HSCP* 43 (1932) 1–50.

[2] Walter Arend, "Die typischen Szenen bei Homer," *Problemata, Forschungen zur klassischen Philologie*, Heft 7 (1933). A. B. Lord, *The Singer of Tales* (Cambridge, Mass. 1960). C. M. Bowra, *Heroic Poetry* (London 1961); see especially chap. 5.

1*

the arming of Achilles through Book 24 the final movement.[3] Criticism in a similar spirit appeared in 1936 with Sheppard's article, "Great-hearted Odysseus," concerning patterns in the *Odyssey*.[4]

In 1932 J. L. Myres, inspired by Sheppard's work, produced a long article on *Iliad* 24.[5] He also balances one episode or scene against another in order to demonstrate a prevailing symmetrical arrangement. In 1952 he extended his researches to the *Odyssey*,[6] comparing the symmetry of the epic with that of geometric vase painting. In this article Myres understands the structure of the poem largely in terms of threes ("triplets"), and the arrangement of speeches is considered in groups or multiples of three exchanges. He visualizes a "central" idea or event, flanked by two others which may or may not be the same.

More recently T. B. L. Webster has followed Myres and Sheppard in studying the symmetry of the poems, although he doubts whether exact correspondences may be drawn in every detail. He concentrates rather on comparing the composition of the poems with that of geometric vase painting.[7]

Similarly, Cedric Whitman has drawn elaborate and detailed comparisons between the epic and geometric art; he has diagramed the whole of the *Iliad* in order to show that it falls into symmetrical patterns.[8]

Many of these studies have been made to show not only that the epic is comparable to geometric vases but also that each event or scene belongs to the poems artistically and structurally. The primary objection to this type of structural analysis is that the scale is not always consistent. For the purposes of symmetry it is too easy to balance whole scenes against single lines, long speeches by short, and so forth.[9] In order to see what the poet is really doing, it seems more accurate to make a detailed examination of the poems within a small scale.

Well suited for such a study are the so-called Homeric digressions, the tales and episodes that interrupt the flow of the action to tell of events unconnected with the main story or to give background information. These stories are generally brief (few exceeding one hundred lines) and

---

[3] J. T. Sheppard, *The Pattern of the Iliad* (London 1922), pp. 82–92.
[4] Sheppard, "Great-hearted Odysseus," *JHS* 56 (1936) 39–53.
[5] J. L. Myres, "The Last Book of the *Iliad*," *JHS* 52 (1932) 278–296.
[6] Myres, "The Pattern of the *Odyssey*," *JHS* 72 (1952) 1–11.
[7] T. B. L. Webster, *From Mycenae to Homer* (London 1958), pp. 259–260. See also pp. 206–207 and 261–265.
[8] Cedric H. Whitman, *Homer and the Heroic Tradition* (Cambridge, Mass. 1958), chaps. 5 and 11.
[9] See Myres, "The Pattern of the *Odyssey*," p. 10.

thus lend themselves to detailed analysis within a small compass. Their brevity also ensures that an attentive listener or reader can be conscious of the pattern of composition.

Many of the digressions have been suspected as interpolations. Sometimes they are supposed to have been incorporated from earlier lays into the epics or to be interpolations from the Hesiodic school. It is impossible within the scope of the present study to present a thorough discussion of the relation that each digression bears to the rest of the poem and of the question whether or not its inclusion is artistically justified. We shall be able to mention these matters only in passing; for the main concern must be first to isolate the digressions from their contexts in order to determine their structure and composition, and then to see how the digressions are related to each other on this basis.

By means of a study such as this we may be able to form some ideas concerning the unity of the two epics and their relation to each other. If the digressions appear homogeneous in structure in both poems, that will be an indication of unity of authorship; but, if the structure for each poem is homogeneous but differences appear between the two poems, we shall have to account for these differences and to decide whether they point toward separate authorship for the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

Because the scale of the digressions is small we shall be able to make detailed analyses, taking into account not only whole episodes (as with Sheppard and the rest) but also individual lines and words. Small-scale structural analyses of early Greek literature including Homer have been made before, and to these we owe many ideas, as well as some specific descriptive terms for the structural patterns of the poems.

Most important are the two articles by W. A. A. Van Otterlo, concerning ring composition and *Ritournellkomposition*, and his longer discussion of ring composition in Homer.[10] Van Otterlo says of ring composition that:

das an den Anfang gestellte Thema eines bestimmten Abschnitts wird nach einer längeren oder kürzeren sich darauf beziehenden Ausführung am Schluss wiederholt, so dass der ganze Abschnitt durch Sätze gleichen Inhalts und mehr oder weniger ähnlichen Wortlauts umrahmt und so zu

---

[10] W. A. A. Van Otterlo, "Untersuchungen über Begriff, Anwendung, und Entstehung der griechischen Ringkomposition," *Medeleelingen der Nederlandsche Akademie Van Wetenshappen* (1944) nos. 1–6, 131–176; "Eine merkwürdige Kompositionsform der älteren griechischen Literatur," *Mnemosyne*, 3rd series, 12 (1945) 194–207; *De Ringcompositie als Opbouwprincipe in de Epische Gedichte van Homerus* (Amsterdam 1948).

einem einheitlichen, sich klar vom Kontext abhebenden Gebilde geschlossen wird.[11]

This definition is important for our investigations, since many of the digressions are characterized by an annular style.

Van Otterlo takes the story of the scar in *Odyssey* 19 (386–470) as an example of ring composition in Homer. Two concentric rings encircle this story. The outer ring is formed by 392–393 and 467–468:

> . . . αὐτίκα δ' ἔγνω
> οὐλήν . . .
>
> τὴν γρηῢς χείρεσσι καταπρηνέσσι λαβοῦσα
> γνῶ ῥ' ἐπιμασσαμένη . . .

The inner ring is formed by 393–394 and 465–466:

> οὐλήν, τήν ποτέ μιν σῦς ἤλασε λευκῷ ὀδόντι
> Παρνησόνδ' ἐλθόντα μετ' Αὐτόλυκόν τε καὶ υἷας
>
> ὥς μιν θηρεύοντ' ἔλασεν σῦς λευκῷ ὀδόντι,
> Παρνησόνδ' ἐλθόντα σὺν υἱάσιν Αὐτολύκοιο.

We have used Van Otterlo's description of ring composition for the present study of the Homeric digressions. It must also be emphasized, however, that repetition of thought and substance, as well as exact repetition of wording, is an indication of ring composition.[12]

A similar form of composition is the technique which we have called *developing ring composition*. In this style elements from the first member of the ring are repeated in the second, but the situation has undergone a change. The technique appears in Nestor's advice to Patroclus (*Iliad* 11.655–803), in the passage describing the battle between the Pylians and the Epeians. The section opens (736–738):

> συμφερόμεσθα μάχῃ Διί τ' εὐχόμενοι καὶ Ἀθήνῃ.
>
> πρῶτος ἐγὼν ἕλον ἄνδρα, κόμισσα δὲ μώνυχας ἵππους

and closes (759–761):

> ἔνθ' ἄνδρα κτείνας πύματον λίπον· αὐτὰρ Ἀχαιοὶ
> ἂψ ἀπὸ Βουπρασίοιο Πύλονδ' ἔχον ὠκέας ἵππους,
> πάντες δ' εὐχετόωντο θεῶν Διὶ Νέστορί τ' ἀνδρῶν.

[11] Van Otterlo, "Untersuchungen," p. 133.
[12] James A. Notopoulos, "Continuity and Interconnexion in Homeric Oral Composition," *TAPA* 82 (1951) 97–98.

The underlined phrases correspond in both wording and thought, but a different situation is described in the two passages. In the first the Pylians pray to Zeus and Athena, in the second to Zeus among gods and Nestor among men. In the first Nestor drives off the horses, in the second it is the Pylians as a whole. In the first lines he is first to kill a man and in the second he kills his last man. Developing ring composition is not common in the digressions, but it does appear also in the long story of Meleager in *Iliad* 9.

Van Otterlo also defines another style: *Ritournellkomposition*.[13] This is a different technique from ring composition, for it is linear rather than cyclic. In *Ritournellkomposition* a line or phrase is repeated at the head of a number of passages. Van Otterlo's example is Agamemnon's mustering of the troops in *Iliad* 4. As Agamemnon approaches each of the contingents, the encounters are introduced by similar lines.[14] The same technique may also be found in the *Odyssey*, particularly in Odysseus' long account of his wanderings. Here the line ἔνθεν δὲ προτέρω πλέομεν ἀκαχήμενοι ἦτορ is used frequently to introduce new adventures.[15]

The great advantage of this technique is its flexibility, for as many terms may be added as the poet desires, simply by the repetition of the catchphrase. This of course is in direct opposition to the limitations imposed by the more rigorous enclosed cyclic style. *Ritournellkomposition* is used in lists and catalogues as well as in narrative.

Akin to *Ritournellkomposition* is composition by *repeated theme*. Here the device is the same, except that the repetitions are generally those of thought rather than wording. An example is Nestor's tale of the return of the Greeks in *Odyssey* 3 (102–200). The repeated theme which orders the story is the hostility of Zeus to the Greeks. This is expressed in different ways throughout the story, but the idea is always the same. Each of the three sections in the story is introduced by the repeated theme:

> "A god scattered the Achaeans, and Zeus contrived in his heart a baneful return for the Argives . . ." (131–133).
>
> "Zeus prepared a punishment for their wrongdoings" (152).
>
> "Zeus did not contrive their return — cruel god, who roused up strife for a second time" (160–161).

Each of the themes is followed by a narrative passage.

Still another technique is the use of introductory expressions (whether conjunctions or adverbs) to order the events of a story. Many such

---

[13] Van Otterlo, "Eine merkwürdige Kompositionsform," pp. 194–207.
[14] See *Iliad* 4.250–251, 272–273, 292–293, 326–327, 364–365.
[15] See *Odyssey* 9.62, 105, 565.

ordering expressions are found in the digressions, but the most impor-
tant ones seem to be ἀλλ' ὅτε δή, αὐτάρ, and ἔνθα. We find an example in
Antenor's story of the embassy of Odysseus and Menelaus to Troy
(*Iliad* 3.204–224). Here the important phrase is ἀλλ' ὅτε δή. The first
section describes the appearance of the two men; it is introduced with
ἀλλ' ὅτε δή. The phrase also introduces the next section, concerning
the excellence of the two heroes in counsel. Both Menelaus' behavior
and that of Odysseus are introduced with ἀλλ' ὅτε δή, and the phrase is
used again to lead into a description of Odysseus' speeches. It occurs
four times within twenty lines; the whole progress of the story depends
upon the repetition of the introductory expression.

These are some of the techniques which are most important for the
structure of the Homeric digression. One or more may be at work in the
same story, so that there is room for complexity and variety of style.
The same elements are often present in the poems as a whole apart from
the digressions. The question of the relation of the structure of the
digressions to that of the poems is important, but it lies outside the
limited scope of this study.

We have considered fifty-one digressions in the two poems: twenty-
four in the *Iliad* and twenty-seven in the *Odyssey*. The present study
will concentrate upon a few of the more interesting digressions and will
deal only in passing with the others.[16]

Digressions of the Iliad

2.100–109	The Descent of Agamemnon's Scepter
2.299–332	The Portent at Aulis
2.494–759	The Catalogue of Ships
2.816–877	Trojan Catalogue
3.204–224	Menelaus and Odysseus in Troy
4.370–400	Agamemnon Tells Diomedes about Tydeus
5.381–404	Dione's Catalogue
6.119–236	The Encounter of Glaucus and Diomedes
6.407–432	The Sack of Andromache's City
7.123–160	How Nestor Slew Ereuthalion
9.434–605	Phoenix' Speech to Achilles
10.254–272	The Descent of Meriones' Helmet
11.655–803	Nestor's Appeal to Patroclus
14.110–127	The Genealogy of Diomedes
14.313–328	Zeus's Catalogue

[16] In this paper we have omitted almost entirely discussion of the genealogy
and catalogue digressions. These in general are uniform in style — most often
encircled by a single ring and organized according to *Ritournellkomposition*.

Digressions of the Odyssey

II. Digressions of the *Iliad*

Nestor's Stories in the *Iliad*

Nestor makes many speeches, but we have classified as digressions only those that interrupt the action in order to tell a story. These are: how Nestor slew Ereuthalion (7.123–160), his advice to Patroclus

(11.655–803), and his youthful prowess at the funeral games of Amaryn-
keus (23.624–650).

HOW NESTOR SLEW EREUTHALION (7.123–160)

This tale is an excellent example of complex ring composition. There
are four concentric rings encircling the core of the digression, which is
the pedigree of Ereuthalion's armor.[17]

The structure of the story may be expressed as *ABCD–X–DCBA*,
if one denotes each ring by a letter, with *X* standing for the pedigree
of the armor:

A. SHAME MOTIF. 123–131 Peleus would wish to die if he heard of this
                              cowardice.
           159–160 You are too cowardly to fight Hector.
B. NESTOR'S LOST YOUTH. 132–133 αἲ γάρ ... ἡβῷμ' ...
           157   εἴθ' ὣς ἡβώοιμι ...
C. NESTOR MEETS EREUTHALION. 136 Ereuthalion steps forward.
                  151–156 Nestor faces and slays him.
D. EREUTHALION'S ARMOR. 137 τεύχε' ἔχων ...
                  150 τοῦ ὅ γε τεύχε' ἔχων ...
X. PEDIGREE. 138–149.

By gradual transitions between rings the poet is able to lead smoothly
from the situation at hand to events far in the past. As soon as the furthest
point in time is reached (the fact that Ares himself gave the armor to its
original owner in line 146), the rings begin to lead back again to the
present.

Several of the shorter tales in the *Iliad* are similar in structure.

I. The Portent at Aulis (2.299–332).
    A. ENDURE AND WAIT. 299–300 μείνατ' ...
              331–332 ... μίμνετε ...
    X. THE STORY. 301–330.
        1. The Portent. 305–321.
            305–306 We were sacrificing to the gods.
            311–316 We were sacrificing to the gods.
        2. Calchas' Interpretation. 322–350.
            322 ... ἀγόρευεν.
            330 ... ἀγόρευε ...

[17] This is one of several pedigree pieces in the *Iliad*. See also Agamemnon's
Scepter (2.100–109), Meriones' Helmet (10.254–272), and the Silver Mixing
Bowl (23.740–749).

II. Agamemnon Tells Diomedes about Tydeus (4.370–400).
    A. YOU ARE A COWARD. 370–371.
                               399–400.
    B. TYDEUS WAS BRAVE. 372–375.
                          399.
    X. THE STORY. 376–398.
III. The Sack of Andromache's City (6.407–432).
    A. PITY ME. 407–409 . . . οὐδ' ἐλεαίρεις.
           431–432 ἀλλ' ἄγε νῦν ἐλέαιρε.
    B. I HAVE NO FATHER OR MOTHER. 413.
                      429–430.
    X. THE STORY. 414–428.
IV. How Zeus Bound Hera (15.14–33).
    A. REMEMBER HOW I HUNG YOU. 18 ἦ οὐ μέμνῃ . . .
           31 τῶν σ' αὖτις μνήσω . . .
    X. THE STORY. 18–30.
V. Hephaestus' Debt to Thetis (18.393–409).
    A. THETIS IS IN MY HOUSE. 394.
               406–409.
    B. THETIS ONCE SAVED ME. 395 ἥ μ' ἐσάωσ' . . .
           403–405 . . . αἵ με σάωσαν.
    X. THE STORY. 396–403.
VI. The Legend of Niobe (24.599–620).
    A. TAKE YOUR SON. 599–601.
           619–620.
    B. REMEMBER FOOD. 601 . . . νῦν δὲ μνησώμεθα δόρπου.
           618–619 . . . μεδώμεθα . . . / σίτου . . .
    C. NIOBE REMEMBERED FOOD. 602 . . . Νιόβη ἐμνήσατο σίτου.
           613 ἥ δ' ἄρα σίτου μνήσατ' . . .
    X. THE STORY. 603–612.

NESTOR'S ADVICE TO PATROCLUS (11.655–803)

Nestor's long speech to Patroclus is the most complex of his tales. It falls into two parts: the story of the war of the Pylians with the Epeians (655–764) and Nestor's instructions to Patroclus (765–803).

The War with the Epeians (655–764)

This story is primarily cyclic in style, although, because of its length and complexity, it makes use of other structural techniques as well. There are two rings that encircle the story of the war, so that the structure may be expressed *AB–X–BA*, with *A* and *B* denoting the rings and *X* the story of the battle. The first member of the *A* ring is itself cyclic.

A. GRIEF MOTIF.
$\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{655–657 Why does Achilles pity the Achaeans?}\\ \quad\text{657–664 Catalogue of the wounded.[18]}\\ \text{664–668 Achilles does not pity } (\alpha\mathring{v}\tau\mathring{\alpha}\rho\ \H{A}\chi\iota\lambda\lambda\epsilon\acute{v}s).\end{array}\right.$

762–764 Achilles will weep $(\alpha\mathring{v}\tau\mathring{\alpha}\rho\ \H{A}\chi\iota\lambda\lambda\epsilon\acute{v}s).$[19]

B. NESTOR'S LOST YOUTH. 668–671 $\epsilon\mathring{i}\theta'\ \H{\omega}s\ \mathring{\eta}\beta\acute{\omega}o\iota\mu\iota\ \beta\acute{\iota}\eta\ \tau\acute{\epsilon}\ \mu o\iota\ \H{\epsilon}\mu\pi\epsilon\delta os$ $\epsilon\H{\iota}\eta.$

762      $\H{\omega}s\ \H{\epsilon}ov,\ \epsilon\H{\iota}\ \pi o\tau'\ \H{\epsilon}ov\ \gamma\epsilon,\ \mu\epsilon\tau'\ \mathring{\alpha}v\delta\rho\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota v.$

X. BATTLES WITH THE EPEIANS. 670–761.

1. Cattle raid.
2. Distribution of spoils.
3. Preparation for the second engagement.
4. The battle.

The body of the episode, however, is not principally dependent upon ring composition. There are cyclical elements, but in general the ordering principles are of a different nature. A most interesting characteristic of the structure is the use of several different stylistic techniques at the same time.

An important technique is the use of time. Nestor is always precise about this, describing each event in relation to the exact time of its occurrence. These time references are also used to divide and order the various parts. At the end of the first section of the story Nestor says that his men drove home their booty *by night* (683). The second section begins with the herald's assembling the people *at dawn* (685). The third opens with the appearance of the Epeians in force *on the third day* (707). In the final section the battle begins *at dawn* (735). The third section (707–734), moreover, not only is introduced by a time reference, but also has its internal structure ordered around the idea of time.

The time element is the constant factor in Nestor's long story; it gives the elements continuity and perspective in relation to each other. Apart from this device, however, each of the four short sections is independently constructed around ideas prominent in itself.

I. 670–684. The cattle raid is ordered around the idea of driving off booty, the most important element being the repeated verb $\mathring{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\acute{v}\nu\omega$,

---

[18] Nestor's catalogue of the wounded chiefs (which is essentially a summary of the preceding events in Book 11) is centered between the two references to Achilles' lack of concern for the Greeks. The introductory section is also characterized by the repetition of the verbs $\beta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omega$ and $o\mathring{v}\tau\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$ — the former occurring five times in fourteen lines, and the latter twice. This is typical of the catalogue style.

[19] Walter Leaf considers these repeated phrases to be indications that the passage between them is interpolated, *Companion to the Iliad* (London 1892), p. 213. Wilamowitz, however, argues on the same basis for the genuineness of the passage, *Die Ilias und Homer* (Berlin 1916), p. 202.

and its compound συνελαύνω. If this idea is represented by A, and the intervening sections (the death of Itymeneus and the catalogue of booty) by B and C respectively, the passage follows the structure $A–B–A–C–A$.

II. 685–707. The next section, which describes the division of spoils, employs a similar technique, although the introduction of several repeated motifs and the use of cyclic composition increase its complexity. The principal theme of the debt (χρεῖος) owed by the Epeians to the Pylians is introduced briefly in the opening lines and mentioned at intervals in the story. Secondary ideas are the division of spoils by the Pylians and the reasons for the debt.

The passage comprises two short subsections (687–695 and 696–707) which are almost identical in structure. First, there is the division of spoils by the chief citizens, including the debt motif and the reason for the debt. This is followed by Neleus' appropriation of his own share, also including the debt motif and the reasons for the debt. The only difference is that the Neleus subsection is composed in annular style, with the taking of spoils by Neleus (εἵλετο / ἐξέλετ᾽, 697 and 704) forming a ring around the story of the loss of his chariot. A further use of ring composition occurs in the section as a whole in the repetition of the verb δαίτρευον / δαιτρεύειν (688 and 705) used of the distribution by the Pylians. The passage then may be represented: Debt — Pylians/Debt/Reason — Neleus/Debt/Reason/Neleus — Pylians ($A–BAD–CADC–B$). This intricate and symmetrical system is developed in only twenty-three lines.

III. 707–734. Equally complex is the next section, which concerns the preparation for a second engagement. An important feature is the passage of time; each of the two subsections — the preparations of the Epeians (707–713) and the preparations of the Pylians (714–732) — is introduced with a time reference. Furthermore, the longer Pylian subsection is also subdivided and ordered by time references.

Here, as in section II above, the two subsections are similar in content and form. The first contains the arrival of the Epeians, including the Molione who are inexperienced in war (710). This subsection is concluded with a mention of the city Thryoessa (ἔστι δέ τις Θρυόεσσα πόλις, 711) which the Epeians besieged. The next subsection, which concerns the preparations of the Pylians, is longer and more detailed, but it is similarly constructed. Athena's rousing of the Pylians (714–717 and 721) forms a ring about the description of the general arming and the part taken by Nestor. Nestor, like the Molione, was thought to be untrained for war (719). As in the subsection above, the preparations are followed by an account of the rallying point (ἔστι δέ τις ποταμὸς Μινυήϊος, 722), but

this, like the inexperience of Nestor, is used as a jumping-off point for further action rather than as a conclusion to the section.

The similarities between the two subsections may be obscured by the greater length and detail of the Pylian passage, but the skeleton is the same: time reference, preparation, the inexperience of the foremost participants, the rallying point, and the subsequent action. After the eighteen lines describing the action of the Pylians, the poet returns to the Epeians with a repetition of the final line in the Epeian subsection above (see 713 and 733). Thus unity is maintained in the passage as a whole by the similarities of its two component subsections, by continual references to time, and by repeated lines and phrases. A good example of such repetition is the verb θωρήσσομαι in its various forms (709, 715, 718, 725).

Ring composition plays no part in the section. If *A* denotes the preparations of both sides, *B* the rallying point, and *C* the action taken upon arrival at this point, the pattern of the whole section may be expressed as *ABC–ABC–C*.

IV. 735–761. In contrast to the foregoing sections, the one dealing with the battle is relatively uncomplicated in style. Here also there are two subsections, the first (737–752) describing Nestor's prowess in the battle, and the second (753–758) describing the actions of the Pylians as a whole. There is none of the interlocking repetition that was a standard feature of the other sections. The two subsections are encircled by a single ring (736–738 and 759–761), each member of which incorporates three ideas: the prowess of Nestor, the taking of booty, and prayer to the gods.[20]

Patroclus' Responsibility to Achilles (765–803)

Nestor's advice to Patroclus is composed of two sections: Nestor's visit to Phthia (765–790) and his specific directions to Patroclus (791–803).

I. 765–790. The most interesting feature here is the repetition of the verb ἐπιτέλλω, which occurs six times in a space of only thirty lines.[21] Its initial and final occurrences frame the story and set it off from the preceding and following parts of Nestor's long speech. This repetition is reminiscent of that in the introduction and the first two sections of

---

[20] This is an example of developing ring composition. See the discussion above.

[21] Lines 765, 768, 782, 783, 785, 790.

Nestor's story of the war with the Epeians above, but in those cases there were secondary themes whose development was also important. Here there is no secondary motif; even the intervening lines (769–781), which describe the arrival and welcome of Nestor in Phthia, depict only a standard scene of sacrifice and hospitality.[22] No complex pattern emerges, but only the insistence upon the advice motif. The climax comes in 790, where Nestor says, "thus he advised, but you forgot."

II. 791–803. In the concluding passage Nestor outlines exactly what Patroclus is to do. There is no repetition of thought or complicated structural development. This straightforward style is typical of Nestor's non-narrative advice-giving speeches.[23]

NESTOR'S YOUTHFUL PROWESS (23.624–650)

Because of its length this digression corresponds more closely to the story in Book 7 than to that in Book 11. It is less tightly organized than the story of Ereuthalion, but it also is cyclic, with two concentric rings. The pattern is *AB–X–BA*:

A. NESTOR IS GLAD TO TAKE THE CUP. 624 . . . ὁ δὲ δέξατο χαίρων.
                               647 . . . δέχομαι, χαίρει δέ μοι
                                 ἦτορ.
B. NESTOR'S LOST YOUTH. 629 εἴθ' ὡς ἡβώοιμι βίη τέ μοι ἔμπεδος εἴη.
                    643 ὡς ποτ' ἔον.
X. NESTOR'S SKILL AS AN ATHLETE. 634–642.

The story of Nestor's youthful prowess follows immediately after the chariot race, just as his advice to Antilochus immediately preceded it (306–348). Such framing with an advice-giving speech and a narrative speech by Nestor may also be observed in Book 7, where the story of Ereuthalion precedes the duel and his advice about the wall and the burning of the dead (324–343) follows it.

THE ENCOUNTER OF GLAUCUS AND DIOMEDES

This episode (6.119–236) takes place between Hector's departure from the battlefield and his arrival at the gates of Troy. There are three sections: the story of Lycurgus (119–143), the story of Bellerophon (144–211), and Diomedes' proposal to exchange armor (212–236).

---

[22] Leaf (following Aristarchus and Aristophanes) takes 762–784 to be an interpolation because they are prosaic; *The Iliad* (London 1886), vol. I, pp. 393–394.
[23] For examples see *Iliad* 7.323–343 or 23.306–348.

THE STORY OF LYCURGUS (119–143)

Diomedes challenges Glaucus, telling the story of Dionysus and Lycurgus.[24] The speech is cyclic, with three concentric rings (*A*, *B*, and *C*) encircling the story (*X*):

A. GLAUCUS' IDENTITY. 123–127 Of mortal men, who are you?
   142–143 If you are a mortal, I will slay you.

B. DIOMEDES WILL NOT FIGHT THE GODS. 128–129 οὐκ ἂν ἐγώ γε θεοῖσιν ἐπουρανίοισι μαχοίμην.
   141 οὐδ' ἂν ἐγὼ μακάρεσσι θεοῖς ἐθέλοιμι μάχεσθαι.

C. LYCURGUS WAS SHORT-LIVED. 130–131 οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδέ ... δὴν ἦν.
   139–140 ... οὐδ' ἄρ' ἔτι δὴν / ἦν.

X. THE STORY OF LYCURGUS. 132–139.

THE STORY OF BELLEROPHON (144–211)

Glaucus' reply is in the form of a genealogy,[25] with an introduction and a corresponding conclusion. The introduction itself is cyclic, with two concentric rings:

A. WHY DO YOU ASK MY RACE? 145 ... τί ἦ γενεὴν ἐρεείνεις;
   150–151 εἰ δ' ἐθέλεις καὶ ταῦτα δαήμεναι, ὄφρ' ἐὺ εἰδῇς / ἡμετέρην γενεήν.

B. MEN ARE LIKE LEAVES. 146 οἵη περ φύλλων γενεή, τοίη δὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν.
   149 ὡς ἀνδρῶν γενεή ...

X. SIMILE. 147–148.

This introduction is followed by the genealogy (152–210). The story of Bellerophon falls into three sections, with additional introductory and concluding passages (152–155 and 206–210) to describe the genealogy which falls outside the story.

[24] Because of the reference to Dionysus this passage (130–141) has often been considered a later interpolation. (See, for example, Leaf, *The Iliad*, vol. 1, p. 198.) The problem of the date of the introduction of the worship of Dionysus into Greece is a difficult one, and one not greatly clarified by the appearance of the name Dionysus on a Linear B tablet (Pylos XaO6). It is fair, however, to say that the late origin of Dionysus seems less certain than it did in Leaf's day, so that his appearance in Homer is not necessarily a later addition. For a discussion of the controversy, see W. K. C. Guthrie, *The Greeks and Their Gods* (Boston 1950), pp. 160–165.

[25] Similar in form are the genealogies of Diomedes and Aeneas. See *Iliad* 14.110–127 and 20.213–241. (Note that 20.213–214 and 241 = 6.150–151 and 211.)

I. 156–170. First the poet describes the treatment received by Bellerophon in Argos. The thought, although not the language, of this passage is cyclic, with Proitus' evil designs and the subsequent expulsion of Bellerophon (157–158) corresponding to Proitus' wrath and the errand to Lycia at the end of the section (166–168). Encircled by this ring is the reason for the king's anger: the deceit of Anteia and her revenge upon Bellerophon.

II. 171–199. Next Bellerophon's rise to fortune in Lycia is related. This section falls into three shorter subsections. In the first (171–177) he is entertained by the king, but later forced to show the message he had brought from Argos. In the next (178–190) the king forces Bellerophon to perform three dangerous tasks. The only ordeal to be described in detail is the slaying of the Chimaera, which follows the cyclic style even in its brief compass of five lines. The operative word is πεφνέμεν / κατέπεφνε (180 and 183); in between is the description of the Chimaera. Each ordeal is introduced by an ordinal adverb (πρῶτον, δεύτερον, τὸ τρίτον). Finally a fourth danger, an ambush, is overcome by the hero. In the final subsection (191–199) he is acclaimed by the king who gives him his daughter for a wife, as well as half the kingdom.

III. 200–205. This section describes Bellerophon's fall. It is extremely compressed and exhibits no structural features of interest.

THE EXCHANGE OF ARMOR (212–236)

Diomedes now replies, claiming Glaucus as a guest-friend by virtue of the fact that his grandfather had once entertained Bellerophon. This short section has a closely-knit structure, with the theme of the ξεῖνος dominating the story. The structure is *A–B–A–C–A*, if *A* denotes the guest-friend motif, *B* the story of Oineus and Bellerophon, and *C* Diomedes' proposal to exchange gifts.

PHOENIX' SPEECH (9.434–605)

The long speech of Phoenix to Achilles occurs as a part of the controversial Embassy of Book 9.[26] There are three sections: an exordium (434–495), the allegory of the prayers and Ate (496–523), and the *paradeigma* of Meleager (524–599). The speech closes with a short admonition (600–605). The following outline represents the general divisions of the speech.

[26] For arguments against the inclusion of Phoenix in the embassy and against the embassy itself, see Denys Page's discussion in *History and the Homeric Iliad* (Berkeley 1959), pp. 279–325. Justification for the scene on a literary basis is

I. Exordium: Phoenix' Youth (434–495)
   1. Phoenix as Achilles' advisor (434–445)
   2. The quarrel of Phoenix with his father (445–484)
   3. Phoenix as Achilles' childhood guardian (485–495)

II. Allegory (496–523)
   Introduction (496–501)
   1. Nature of the Prayers and Ate (502–507)
   2. General application of the allegory (508–512)
   3. Application to Achilles (513–523)

III. Paradeigma: The Story of Meleager (524–599)
   1. War of the Kouretes and the Aetolians (524–549)
   2. Meleager retires from battle (550–574)
   3. Meleager is persuaded (574–599)

EXORDIUM: PHOENIX' YOUTH (434–495)

After rejecting Agamemnon's offer as made by Odysseus, Achilles states his intention to sail for Phthia the next day. The first part of Phoenix' reply (434-495) is composed of three sections — each in the cyclic style. The first and last are concerned with Phoenix' friendship with Achilles and Peleus; they frame the story of Phoenix' quarrel with his father and flight to Phthia.

I. *434–445.*
   A. DO NOT LEAVE ME. 437–438 πῶς ἂν ἔπειτ' ἀπὸ σεῖο, φίλον τέκος,
                                    αὖθι λιποίμην / οἶος;
                   444–445 ὡς ἂν ἔπειτ' ἀπὸ σεῖο, φίλον
                                    τέκος, οὐκ ἐθέλοιμι / λείπεσθ' . . .
   X. PELEUS SENT ME. 438–443.
      1. 438–441. He sent (ἔπεμπε) me because you were inexperienced in war and counsel.
      2. 442–443. He sent (προέηκε) me to teach you to be a speaker of words and a doer of deeds.
II. *445–484.*
   A. PHOENIX FLEES HIS FATHER. 447–448 φεύγων . . .
                               478–480 φεῦγον . . .
   X. WHY HE FLED. 449–477.
      1. 449–461. Phoenix quarrels with Amyntor.
      2. 462–478. He escapes to Phthia.

III. 485–495.
  A. I MADE YOU MY OWN. 485   καί σε τοσοῦτον ἔθηκα, θεοῖς ἐπιείκελ᾽
                                 Ἀχιλλεῦ.
                    494–495 ... ἀλλὰ σὲ παῖδα, θεοῖς ἐπιείκελ᾽
                                 Ἀχιλλεῦ, / ποιεύμην.
  X. ACHILLES AS A CHILD. 486–494.

The structure of *II* is more complex than that of the other sections. There is little separation or ordering of events, and the division between this and the first section is not even marked by a new sentence. Indeed, the transition is achieved by a long run-on sentence (444–452) which manages to include Phoenix' old age, the possibility of becoming young again, the flight from Amyntor, Amyntor's wrath, and his mother's prayers. After 452 the pace of the narrative slows, while Phoenix describes Amyntor's curse, his own imprisonment and flight to Phthia. The cyclic character of the section is reinforced in 480–484, in which Peleus receives Phoenix kindly, treating him like a son. Thus in 447–448 Phoenix leaves Hellas, fleeing the wrath of his father, and in 478–484 he flees Hellas to a man who will cherish him like an only son.

THE ALLEGORY (496–523)

Phoenix begins his advice with an allegory. This section has an introduction, followed by three subsections.

INTRODUCTION. 496–501 ἀλλ᾽, Ἀχιλεῦ.
  I. ALLEGORY. 502–507.
    A. Nature of Prayers. 502–504.
    B. Nature of Ate. 505–507.
  II. GENERAL APPLICATION. 508–512.
    A. If a man honors prayers, they will prosper him. 508–509.
    B. If he turns them away, they beseech Zeus to ruin him. 510–512.
  III. SPECIFIC APPLICATION. 512–523.
    A. DO NOT REJECT THE PRAYERS. 513–514 Honor them.
                             522–523 Do not disgrace their
                                     mission.
    X. AGAMEMNON HAS OFFERED YOU MUCH. 515–523.
      1. If Agamemnon did not send gifts, I would not urge you to fight. 515–518.
      2. But he will give much. 519–523.

The cyclic element is not strong, although the phrase ἀλλ᾽, Ἀχιλεῦ is repeated from 496 to 513, and 513–514 are similar in thought to 522–523.

More interesting is the fact that each of the three subsections falls naturally into two antithetical parts.[27]

THE STORY OF MELEAGER (524–599)

After the Allegory, Phoenix tells the story of Meleager. This tale is interesting, not only for its structure and its artistic relation to the poem as a whole, but also because scholars have seen in it an opportunity to glimpse (however dimly) the sources from which the epic was formed.[28]

The story is very complex. Like the other parts of Phoenix' speech, it is divided into three shorter sections.

I. *The War of the Kouretes and the Aetolians. 524–549.*

    A. BATTLE. 529–532   Κουρῆτές τ' ἐμάχοντο καὶ Αἰτωλοὶ μενε-
                            χάρμαι.
              549   Κουρήτων τε μεσηγὺ καὶ Αἰτωλῶν μεγα-
                            θύμων.
    B. ARTEMIS. 533 Ἄρτεμις.
             538 ἥ . . . δῖον γένος ἰοχέαιρα.
             547 ἥ.
  ⎧C. ARTEMIS' ANGER. 534 χωσαμένη.
1.⎨   538 χολωσαμένη.
  ⎩X. OINEUS FORGOT TO SACRIFICE. 534–537.
  ⎧D. RAVAGES OF THE BOAR. 540–542.
2.⎨   546.
  ⎩Y. THE BOAR HUNT. 543–545.

This is the most complex section. It is encircled by a ring describing the battle of the Kouretes and the Aetolians. Within the ring are two shorter subsections which are themselves cyclic: 534–537, in which Oineus' omission of sacrifice is encircled by Artemis' wrath, and 538–546, in which the boar hunt is encircled by a description of the destruction wrought by the boar. The name of Artemis is used almost to accentuate the divisions of the subsections. She is mentioned three times, once before the first subsection, once after it, and finally after the second subsection. The structure of the whole may be represented (using the letters from the diagram above) as *A–B–CXC–B–DYD–B–A.* Another feature is the use of developing ring composition. This occurs in the first

[27] Note that sections I, II, and III all begin with a reference to the "daughters of Zeus," in 502, 508, 513. See also the repetition of λίσσομαι in 501, 511, 520.

[28] For good discussions on this point see especially Johannes Th. Kakridis, *Homeric Researches* (Lund 1949), and Wolfgang Schadewaldt, *Iliasstudien* (Leipzig 1938), pp. 139ff.

subsection, describing Artemis' wrath and the negligence of Oineus.
The bracketing lines are 533–534 and 538–539. There are three factors
common to both sets of lines: the wrath, Artemis, and the verb of
rousing (ὦρσεν). The difference is that in the first lines she is rousing
up strife and in the second she is rousing up the boar. By this technique
the poet is able to avoid doubling back; he can preserve the impression
of cyclic composition and at the same time carry the action forward
without destroying the chronology of the section.

II. Meleager Retires from the Battle. 550–574.
  A. THE BATTLE RAGES. 550–552.
                       573–574.
  B. MELEAGER'S WRATH. 553–555 χόλος.
                    565–572 χόλον.
  C. HE RETIRES WITH KLEOPATRA. 556 κεῖτο.
                        565 παρκατέλεκτο.
  X. KLEOPATRA'S MOTHER. 557–564.

Three concentric rings thus encircle the story of Kleopatra's mother.
As a whole, however, the section is difficult to follow. This is particularly
true in the story of Kleopatra's mother and in the reason for Meleager's
wrath against Althaea. In the story of Marpessa and Kleopatra it is
difficult for the modern reader to discriminate between the mother and
daughter, to determine which was kidnapped and which was called
Alkyone. Meleager's wrath against his mother is introduced in 553, but
not accounted for until the story of the curse which begins in 565.
Furthermore, the reason for Althaea's anger is itself almost unintelli-
gible. She is grieved at the murder of her brother (567), but it is not
mentioned that Meleager killed him, or why.

III. Meleager is Persuaded. 574–599.
  CATALOGUE OF SUPPLIANTS. 574–599.
  1. ... τὸν δὲ λίσσοντο γέροντες ... 574.
  2. πολλὰ δέ μιν λιτάνευε γέρων ... 581.
  3. πολλὰ δὲ τόν γε κασίγνηται καὶ πότνια μήτηρ
     ἐλλίσσονθ' ... 584–585.
  4. ... πολλὰ δ' ἑταῖροι 585.
  5. καὶ τότε δὴ Μελέαγρον ἐΰζωνος παράκοιτις
     λίσσετ' ... 590–591.

Here Phoenix tells how Meleager was persuaded to reenter the battle.
This is essentially a catalogue of suppliants, with the various entries
consistently employing the same verb of beseeching.

III. Digressions of the *Odyssey*

STORIES IN THE COMPLEX CYCLIC STYLE

The complex cyclic style is less frequent in the *Odyssey* than in the *Iliad*, although the single ring is often used (usually in conjunction with other techniques). The poem contains two examples of the complex cyclic style: the story of the scar in Book 19 and the story of Odysseus' bow in Book 21.[29]

THE STORY OF THE SCAR (19.386–470)

Two concentric rings encircle the whole episode, and cyclic elements are present within the individual sections.

A. EURYCLEIA RECOGNIZES THE SCAR. 392–393 . . . αὐτίκα δ' ἔγνω
οὐλήν.

467–468   τὴν γρῆϋς . . . γνῶ.

B. ODYSSEUS WAS WOUNDED WHILE HUNTING. 393–394 οὐλήν,   τήν
ποτέ μιν σῦς
ἤλασε λευκῷ
ὀδόντι/Παρνη-
σόνδ' ἐλθόντα
μετ'   Αὐτό-
λυκόν τε καὶ
υἷας.

465–466   ὥς μιν θηρεύ-
οντ' ἔλασεν σῦς
λευκῷ ὀδόντι/
Παρνησόνδ'
ἐλθόντα   σὺν
υἱάσιν Αὐτο-
λύκοιο.

X. THE STORY OF THE SCAR. 395–464.
  1. Autolycus' visit to Ithaca. 395–412.
  2. Odysseus' visit to Parnassus. 413–462.
    a. Odysseus goes for gifts.
      413–415 τῶν ἕνεκ' ἦλθ' Ὀδυσεὺς ἵνα οἱ πόροι ἀγλαὰ δῶρα.
        τὸν μὲν ἄρ' Αὐτόλυκός τε καὶ υἱέες Αὐτολύκοιο.
      459–460 τὸν μὲν ἄρ' Αὐτόλυκός τε καὶ υἱέες Αὐτολύκοιο
        εὖ ἰησάμενοι ἠδ' ἀγλαὰ δῶρα πόροντες.
    x. Odysseus' welcome in Parnassus and the boar hunt. 415–458.
  3. Odysseus returns home. 461–464.

[29] The Genealogy of Theoclymenus (15.223–257), in the genealogy style, is nevertheless encircled by a ring (223 and 256–257). A double ring (225–227 and 238–242, 228 and 238) encircles the first section.

Thus there are three short subsections in *X* (the story of the scar). The second is the most complex, for it is itself cyclic and also forms the center of the entire digression. It is framed by the concentric rings *A* and *B*, preceded by Autolycus' visit, followed by Odysseus' return, and further encircled by the cyclical line pairs (413–414, 459–460).

The passage describing the boar hunt (428–458) falls into three parts. The first (428–439) describes the tracking of the boar.

A. TIME REFERENCE AND HUNTERS. 429–431 (*Dawn*).
B. DESTINATION. 431–432.
A. TIME REFERENCE AND HUNTERS. 433–438 (*The sun touches the fields*).
B. DESTINATION. 439.

There are close similarities in phrasing between 429–431 and 435–438.[30]

The second and third parts are ordered rather differently, as each action is denoted by a pronoun followed by μέν or δέ — τὴν μέν (440), τὸν δ' (444, 452), τὸν μέν (455).

Relative constructions are important throughout the story. Here it may be helpful to return to a consideration of 392–396 above. The poet begins with the scar *which* (τήν) Odysseus got while hunting with Autolycus and his sons — *Autolycus*, who excelled in chicanery. By means of the relative τήν in 393 and the appositive in 395, the poet quickly moves from the scar to Odysseus' grandfather, as well as many years backward in time. He makes use of a similar technique in 413, in the transition between the naming of Odysseus and his visit to Autolycus. In 409–412 Autolycus promises that, if Odysseus will visit him after he is grown up, he will give him many gifts. In 413 the poet resumes with the expression τῶν ἕνεκ' "because of which things, Odysseus set out, so as to acquire shining gifts." Here the relative transition also accomplishes a forward change in time.

THE STORY OF THE BOW (21.8–42).

This story is also cyclic,[31] but in several respects the style differs from that of the *Iliad* and even from that used in the story of the scar. There

---

[30] βάν ῥ' ἴμεν ἐς θήρην, ἠμὲν κύνες ἠδὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ
υἱέες Αὐτολύκου· μετὰ τοῖσι δὲ δῖος Ὀδυσσεὺς
ἤϊεν (19.429–431).

οἱ δ' ἐς βῆσσαν ἵκανον ἐπακτῆρες· πρὸ δ' ἄρ' αὐτῶν
ἴχνι' ἐρευνῶντες κύνες ἤϊσαν, αὐτὰρ ὄπισθεν
υἱέες Αὐτολύκου· μετὰ τοῖσι δὲ δῖος Ὀδυσσεὺς
ἤϊεν . . . (19.435–438).

[31] Note the resemblances between the structure of this tale and that of *Iliad* 9.524–549. See p. 18 above.

are three concentric rings to enclose three subsections, two of which are themselves cyclic.

A. PENELOPE'S TRIP TO THE STOREROOM. 8–9   She goes on her way.

               42   She arrives.

B. ODYSSEUS' TREASURES. 9–12 . . . ἔνθα δὲ . . . κεῖτο. ἔνθα δὲ . . . κεῖτο.

        38–41   κέσκετ' . . .

C. IPHITUS GAVE HIM THE BOW. 13–15   δῶκε.

          31   δῶκε.

          37–38   ἔδωκε.

1.   D. ODYSSEUS CAME FOR A DEBT. 16–17   ἦλθε μετὰ χρεῖος . . .

            20   τῶν ἕνεκ' . . . ἦλθεν . . .

  X. ODYSSEUS' ERRAND. 18–19.

2.   E. IPHITUS SOUGHT SOME HORSES. 22   διζήμενος.

            31   ἐρέων.

  Y. IPHITUS' ERRAND AND DEATH. 22–30.

3.   F. THE EXCHANGE OF GIFTS. 31–36.

The structure of the whole may be represented as *A–B–C–DXD–EYE–C–F–C–B–A.*

The most striking feature is the use of time with reference to the time of the main story. This is to be observed in the *A* ring. In 8–9 Penelope sets out for the storeroom, but in 42 she has arrived. That is, the whole story is told *while Penelope is en route to the storeroom.* This is a sophisticated technique and seemingly more advanced than that used in the story of the scar. In Book 19 Eurycleia recognizes the scar; the story of the boar hunt follows. The digression is concluded and a line given which repeats that she recognized the scar. Nothing has happened to Odysseus and Eurycleia during the digression. In the case of the bow, however, the poet is able to go in two directions at once; he can tell his story and at the same time have Penelope carry out her actions independently of him.

The *C* ring which encircles the story and separates the second and third subsections shows some variety in expression. The verb δίδωμι is common to all three occurrences of the ring, but another idea—that of the meeting of Odysseus and Iphitus—is referred to with different verbs in the first and second occurrences of the ring[32] and omitted entirely the third time.

More important, each of the three occurrences of the gift-and-meeting theme is also a part of another section. Lines 13–14 are in apposition to

---

[32] Line 15 ξυμβλήτην, line 31 συνήντετο.

11–12 in the catalogue of the storeroom; 37–38 are a part of a sentence telling of the murder of Iphitus. Line 31 belongs to both the *C* and *E* rings. This is similar to the running together of sections described in the story of the scar. It seems to differ from the cyclical techniques of the *Iliad*, in which the complexity of a story is not increased by such telescoping of functions.

NESTOR'S TALES IN THE *ODYSSEY*

Nestor tells two stories in the *Odyssey*: the return of the Greeks (3.102–200) and Orestes' revenge (3.253–312).

THE RETURN OF THE GREEKS (3.102–200)

Nestor tells this story in response to Telemachus' questions about Odysseus. The most striking feature of the composition of this episode is the comparative absence of cyclical patterns and exact repetitions, all of which were so important in Nestor's digressions in the *Iliad*. Instead, the tale depends for its structure upon repeated ideas, which order the events in a linear manner — in repeated theme compositions. By definition this style is more flexible than ring composition, since any number of elements may be added simply through repetition of a central theme. There are three sections:

I. Introduction. 103–129. The introduction consists of two short sections: a catalogue of the dead Achaean heroes (108–112) and praise for Odysseus' excellence in counsel (118–129). Each is introduced with the repeated theme of the sufferings endured by the Greeks, although the wording differs:

> "O friend, since you remind me of the pain which we endured in that land . . ." (103–104).

> "But we suffered many things in addition to these . . ." (113).

This is not cyclic style, for 113 is not a repetition of 103–104, but a continuation of it; it looks ahead to the remarks about Odysseus and not back to the catalogue of the dead.

The first section (108–112) depends for its structure upon the repetition of ἔνθα (five times in four lines), in the catalogue style. The second (118–119) is also ordered around introductory expressions. It begins with the time expression εἰνάετες in 118; ἔνθ' is used in 120 to lead into the theme of Odysseus' excellence in debate and again in 126 to return to the same idea after a digression upon Telemachus' likeness to his father.

II. The Story. 130–183. This section falls into three parts: the assembly (130–152), the first separation (152–160), and the second separation

(160–183). The repeated idea which is the basis of the story is Zeus's hostility to the returning Greeks. The theme occurs three times:

> "And a god scattered the Achaeans, and then Zeus contrived ($\mu\dot\eta\delta\epsilon\tau o$) in his heart a baneful return for the Argives . . ." (131–133).
> "For Zeus prepared ($\ddot\eta\rho\tau\upsilon\epsilon$) a punishment for their wrongdoing" (152).
> "Zeus did not contrive ($\mu\dot\eta\delta\epsilon\tau o$) their return, cruel, since he roused up evil strife a second time" (160–161).

Because the story is loosely constructed, we will not find the complex structural patterns present in Nestor's stories in the *Iliad*.

The first subsection (130–152), for example, tells in a direct fashion of the three principal events: the assembly, the quarrel of the Atreidae, and the breaking up of the assembly.

In 152–160 the structure is more interesting. The divine wrath motif (152) is followed by a very short introduction to the action (153–154) beginning with the adverb $\dot\eta\ddot\omega\theta\epsilon\nu$.[33] After the introduction follow two short subsections, both with $\dot\eta\mu\dot\iota\sigma\epsilon\epsilon\varsigma$ as the first word in the line. Half of the Greeks remain with Agamemnon; the other half set out with Menelaus. In this brief passage there are three central ideas: the Greeks set out, a god helps them, and they arrive in Tenedos and sacrifice.

In 160–183 Nestor relates the second separation of the Greeks; this is very similar to the passage above concerning the first parting. Here too are two short subsections, the first relating that Odysseus returned to Agamemnon (162–164). (This of course corresponds to 155–156 above, which described how half of the men stayed on with Agamemnon.) The second subsection (165–183) describes the return of Nestor, Diomedes, and Menelaus. Here the similarities between the two passages may be obscured by the double ring (165–166 and 182–183, 167 and 180–182),[34] but the center lines (168–179) are parallel to the corresponding passage above. In both sections the sequence is the same: the action of the heroes, the help they receive from the gods, and the thank offerings they make upon reaching their destination.

III. Conclusion. 184–200. This section returns to the present in Pylos. Its principal content is a list of the returned heroes. It is a cata-

---

[33] A similar pattern of *ordering motif* plus *adverb* plus *introduction* can be observed in the second section of the introduction, in which the Greek suffering theme is followed by an introduction — beginning $\epsilon\dot\iota\nu\dot\alpha\epsilon\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ — telling how the Achaeans besieged Troy.

[34] Note especially the repetition of $\alpha\dot\upsilon\tau\dot\alpha\rho$ $\dot\epsilon\gamma\dot\omega$ from 165 to 182.

logue but does not follow the catalogue style, since there is no repeated word to order the items.

Thus, the principal device by which Nestor's story is ordered is the repeated theme — first the suffering of the Greeks, and then the hostility of Zeus — but there are also other factors to be considered. In opposition to the animosity of the gods is the divine aid given to the Greeks on their homeward journey (158 and 173–176). Another motif is that of sacrifice. Originally (143–145) Agamemnon wanted to stay in Troy to placate Athena by sacrifice. Menelaus and his men sacrifice in Tenedos and again in Geraestus. The three motifs — the wrath of Zeus, sacrifice, and divine assistance — are closely related, and together they form one great theme which dominates the story.

Introductory expressions are also important, although they are less prominent here than in some of the other digressions in the poem. The passage of time is used as a structural factor, although this breaks down in 162–183, where Nestor ceases to account specifically for each day of the journey.

Traces of the cyclic style are present, as noted above. A symmetrical approach is also demonstrated by the balancing of the introduction and conclusion against each other — the one with its catalogue of the dead, and the other with a catalogue of the returned heroes.

THE STORY OF ORESTES' REVENGE (3.253–312)

The structure of this tale is similar to that of Nestor's first story. There is an introduction (253–261) followed by three sections: the seduction of Clytemnestra (262–275), Menelaus' return (276–303), and Orestes' revenge (304–312). The repeated theme, which introduces the first two sections, is the activity of the Greeks while Aegisthus is plotting in Argos:

"For we sat there completing many tasks" (262–263).

"For we were sailing on the way from Troy" (276).

Both occurrences of the theme begin with the tag-expression ἡμεῖς μὲν γάρ. The theme is useful, to make the transition between Aegisthus and the homecoming Greeks.

Introductory expressions are not uniform throughout the story but are similar within any one section. In the first two sections the major divisions are marked by either ἀλλ' ὅτε or ἀλλ' ὅτε δή (269, 278, 286). In the third section time expressions are used.

THE FALSE TALES OF ODYSSEUS

After Odysseus arrives in Ithaca he is forced to account for himself to various people while still retaining his disguise. He thus relates several false tales: the stories to Athena (13.256–286), Eumaeus (14.199–359), the cloak story (14.462–506), and the stories to Antinous (17.415–444), Penelope (19.165–202, 221–248, and 262–307), and Laertes (24.266–279 and 304–314). In the following discussion we shall concentrate on the stories to Athena and Eumaeus, dealing with the others only in passing.

THE STORY TO ATHENA (13.256–286)

Odysseus' story to Athena falls into three sections which are indicated and unified by the use of a repeated theme, the alleged murder of Orsilochus:

> "I am fleeing, since I slew Orsilochus, the swift-footed son of Idomeneus . . . " (259–260).
> "With my bronze spear I smote him as he went along" (267).
> "But since I killed him with the sharp bronze . . ." (271).

I. 258–266. Odysseus begins with the fact of his presence in Ithaca and works back through a series of "because" clauses to the fictitious initial quarrel with Idomeneus, some twenty years before. These three clauses occur at three-line intervals, the line which contains the conjunction also containing the important fact, the next two lines being in the nature of expansion. Thus, if one takes 259, 262, and 265 in order, omitting the intervening lines, the section reads: "I am a fugitive, *since* (ἐπεί) I killed the son of Idomeneus // *because* (οὕνεκα) he wanted to deprive me of all my booty // *because* (οὕνεκ') I did not curry favor with his father by serving him."

II. 267–270. This brief section begins with the repeated theme and tells of the murder of Orsilochus.

III. 271–286. The final section differs from the first in that it presents a straightforward, chronological sequence of events. The four stages in the action are all indicated by introductory expressions (αὐτὰρ ἐπεί 271, ἀλλ' ἦ τοι 276, κεῖθεν 278, ἔνθ' 282), but there is no pattern followed in the selection of these.[35] The lively staccato style is appropriate to the depiction of Odysseus as making up his story as he goes along.

---

[35] Odysseus' First and Third Stories to Penelope (19.165–202 and 262–307) and Odysseus' First Story to Laertes (24.266–279) are similar examples of short stories ordered by repeated themes. The theme in the first story to Penelope is

THE STORY TO EUMAEUS (14.199–359)

This story is long and extremely complex. Like the lie to Athena it is composed according to the repeated theme technique, with time and introductory expressions used to mark the sequence of events. The introduction is followed by four long sections.

Introduction. 199–234. The introduction falls into three parts. In the first (199–206) Odysseus represents himself as the illegitimate son of Kastor, a wealthy Cretan. This is one of the few places in the story reflecting the cyclic style:

ἐκ μὲν Κρητάων γένος εὔχομαι εὐρειάων (199).

. . . τοῦ ἐγὼ γένος εὔχομαι εἶναι (204).

In the next subsection (207–213) the beggar (Odysseus) tells how he fared after the death of his father. Both parts of the subsection are indicated by introductory expressions. In the first (beginning ἀλλ' ἦ τοι, 207) he tells of marrying; in the second (beginning . . . νῦν δ' ἤδη, 213) he says that he is no longer the man he once was. The first part then is narrative, and the second reflective.

The reflective tone is carried on in the third subsection (216–234). The repeated theme for the story (the intervention of the gods in the beggar's life) appears for the first time, to introduce this subsection:

"Truly Ares and Athena gave me courage" (216).

This verse, however, not only is a repeated theme but also forms a ring with 227 ("But to me the gods made these things dear in my heart").

I. The Trojan War. 235–242. This short section begins with the motif of divine intervention:

"But when wide-seeing Zeus planned the terrible journey . . ." (235–236).

There are two subsections — the first introduced with ἀλλ' ὅτε δή (235) and the second with ἔνθα (240).

---

the entertainment of Odysseus by the "beggar" (19.185 and 194); in the third story it is the news which the "beggar" claims to have heard of Odysseus (19.270–272 and 287). In the first story to Laertes the entertainment idea is used again as the repeated theme (24.266 and 271). The second story to Penelope (19.221–248) is essentially a catalogue of the distinguishing features of Odysseus' appearance. The second story to Laertes (24.304–314) is too short for analysis, although it does make use of introductory expressions (αὐτάρ in 306 and 309).

II. Adventures in Egypt. 243–286. This also begins with the repeated theme:

"But for wretched me contriving Zeus planned evils" (243).

There are three subsections.

In the first subsection (243–258) there is an almost contrapuntal use of ordering devices. The most obvious is the use of time expressions to indicate the sequence of events. In the space of fifteen lines there are four specific time expressions occurring in the first place in the line: μῆνα (244), ἑξῆμαρ (249), ἑβδομάτῃ (252), πεμπταῖοι (257). Each introduces a new portion of the subsection. Furthermore, the word αὐτάρ is also used to mark structural breaks. The whole adventure begins with αὐτὰρ ἐμοί (243); αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα follows (245) and αὐτὰρ ἐγών (250). In 245 and 250 the word is used to indicate a new turn in the story; it immediately follows the sentence begun with the time expression and is loosely connected to it. (See 244 and 249.)

In the next subsection (259–272) the use of ordering devices is varied; three different ones are used for the four-part passage. Both the first and the last parts are begun with ἔνθα (ἔνθ' ἦ τοι μέν in 259 and ἔνθ' in 271). A time expression (ἅμ' ἠοῖ φαινομένηφιν in 266) introduces the second part, but the repeated theme ("But Zeus who delights in the clouds hurled evil rout into my companions," 268–269) leads into the third.[36]

The last subsection (273–286) begins with the repeated theme:

"But Zeus himself made this plan in my mind" (273–274).

The previous subsection had ended with the other Cretans either slain or in captivity, but the beggar is distinguished from these in the phrase which begins the new subsection — αὐτὰρ ἐμοί. Throughout the story the beggar distinguishes himself from other men in this way. In the introduction he admits that war is hateful to others, but to him (αὐτὰρ ἐμοί, 227) the gods made it pleasant. At the end of section I he tells how a god scattered the Achaeans, but for him (αὐτὰρ ἐμοί, 243) Zeus himself contrived special sufferings. A god has intervened in all three cases. (The same pattern is followed in other sections of the story.) In this third

[36] Odysseus' story to Antinous (17.415–444) is substantially the same as this subsection. The body of the story (427–441) is identical. In Book 14, the cattle raid is part of a long story, and its structure is seen in relation to that of the tale as a whole. In Book 17, the cattle raid appears by itself, and the same structure which was shown to be homogeneous with the long story to Eumaeus appears choppy, since each of the four subsections is introduced with a different device.

subsection the four subordinate parts are all begun with introductory
expressions: αὐτὰρ ἐμοί in 273, αὐτὰρ ἐγώ in 278, ἦ μέν in 281, ἔνθα μὲν
ἐπτάετες in 285.

   III. The Phoenician Trader. 287–313. This adventure is introduced
not with the repeated theme, but rather with a time expression together
with an introductory adverbial phrase:

   ἀλλ᾽ ὅτε δὴ ὄγδοόν μοι ἐπιπλόμενον ἔτος ἦλθε (287).

In the first subsection (287–292) he agrees to accompany the trader but
remains with him only a year (see 292). This line is very similar to 285
above, which concluded section II. Like 285 it is followed by a new
development in the story, a development which is introduced by ἀλλ᾽
ὅτε δή, together with a time expression:

   ἀλλ᾽ ὅτε δὴ μῆνές τε καὶ ἡμέραι ἐξετελεῦντο (293).

This verse begins the second subsection (293–300), which is ended with
the divine intervention motif:

   " . . . but Zeus contrived destruction for them" (300).

   The third subsection (301–309) follows a similar scheme. It also is
introduced with ἀλλ᾽ ὅτε δή, although with no time expression added.
The passage ends with the repeated theme:

   " . . . but a god denied their return" (309).

   In the final subsection (310–313) the beggar again distinguishes him-
self from the other characters. All the Phoenicians are lost in the storm,
but for him (αὐτὰρ ἐμοί, 310) Zeus plans an escape. Three of the four
subsections in the Phoenician adventure, then, begin with ἀλλ᾽ ὅτε δή
and the fourth with the familiar αὐτὰρ ἐμοί device.

   IV. The Beggar in Thesprotia. 314–359. This section, like the pre-
ceding one, begins with a time expression (ἐννῆμαρ, 314). There are three
subsections. The most striking factor in the section is the use of ἔνθα,
which both introduces the various subsections and indicates the order
of events within them.

   First (ἔνθα, 316) he is rescued by the king's son and welcomed by the
king himself.

   The second subsection also begins with ἔνθα (321). Each of its four
parts begins with some expression referring to the king of Thesprotia's
claims about having seen Odysseus. First κεῖνος γὰρ ἔφασκε (321), then
ἔδειξεν (323), φάτο (327), and ὤμοσε (331).[37]

---

[37] Note the ring composition in lines 322 and 333, with the repeated phrase
ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν.

The third subsection also begins with ἔνθα (336). There are five parts, each beginning with an introductory expression: ἔνθα is used three times (336, 345, 353), with ἀλλ' ὅτε (339) and αὐτὰρ ἐμοί (348) used to introduce the other two parts. The most important ordering device, however, is the repeated theme:

"But the gods themselves easily loosened my bond" (348–349).

(Note αὐτὰρ ἐμοί in 348.) The beggar, then, with the help of the gods (357) eludes his pursuers and is led by the gods to Eumaeus.

There are, then, three principal devices in this long story: the repeated theme, time, and introductory expressions. The introductory expression is a familiar tool in the composition of the digressions of the *Odyssey* but this story is unusual in that it uses introductory expressions consistently, very often employing the same one almost exclusively within a section or subsection.

Such expressions are used twenty-six times to mark structural divisions, whether these are sections, subsections or parts of subsections. The three phrases most used are ἀλλ' ὅτε δή (or ἀλλ' ὅτε), ἔνθα, and αὐτὰρ ἐμοί (or αὐτὰρ ἐγώ). It is significant that these three expressions are used in all except five of the twenty-six places in which a structural division and an introductory expression coincide.[38] The distribution is as follows: ἀλλ' ὅτε δή four times, ἀλλ' ὅτε once, ἔνθα ten times, αὐτὰρ ἐμοί five times, and αὐτὰρ ἐγώ once.

Not only do these expressions dominate the story, but also each is used rather consistently. For example, αὐτὰρ ἐμοί is always used to introduce the repeated theme (227, 243, 273, 310, 348).[39]. Three of the four appearances of ἀλλ' ὅτε δή are in the story of the Phoenician trader (287, 293, 301). It is used once in the Trojan War section (235), and ἀλλ' ὅτε appears in the Thesprotian section (339); but neither occurs in the long section describing the voyage to Egypt. The more common ἔνθα is well distributed through the story, although five of its ten appearances are in the Thesprotian section (316, 320, 336, 345, 353). Furthermore, it is used three times with a time expression, to fulfill a specific structural purpose (240, 285, 292). In these cases it is used to introduce an indication of the time elapsed before another adventure is to begin. In telling of the Trojan War, for example, the beggar says, "*There* we fought for nine years . . ." The Egyptian adventure is closed

---

[38] The other phrases are ἦ μὲν δή (216), ἦ μέν μοι (291), πρὶν μὲν γάρ (229), ἀλλ' ἦ τοι (207), νῦν δ' ἤδη (213).

[39] The phrase αὐτὰρ ἐμοί is also used in 210, but here it comes in mid-sentence and serves no structural purpose.

in a similar fashion: "*there* I stayed for seven years . . ." The end of his sojourn with the trader is announced in similar fashion: "*there* I stayed for a year . . ."

The story differs from other digressions in this use of introductory expressions. These of course are used in the other stories, but are never so numerous, and elsewhere they do not seem to fall into the patterns found here. The difference is one of degree rather than kind, however. In other respects the story is like other digressions in its use of time and repeated theme. The more extensive use of introductory expressions here may be partially explained by the great length of the episode. The shorter digressions make use of introductory expressions as a structural device, but their brevity prohibits the formation of consistent patterns:

I. The Story of the Cloak (14.462–506).
Here two of the same introductory expressions used in the story of Odysseus to Eumaeus are also important: ἀλλ' ὅτε δή coincides with structural breaks at 472 and 483, ἔνθα marks a break at 478. The other divisions in the story coincide with changes in speaker in the dialogue between Odysseus and the "beggar" (490, 499). Note, however, that the whole story is encircled by a single ring referring to the "beggar's" advanced age (468 and 503). This is parallel to the rings surrounding Nestor's stories in the *Iliad* (7.132–133 and 157, 11.670 and 762, 23.629 and 643).

II. How Odysseus Came to Scheria (7.241–297).
This story has no repeated theme, but is ordered by introductory and time expressions. Like several other stories in the *Odyssey*, it begins with an asyndeton (᾿Ωγυγίη τις νῆσος, 244). (See 4.351, 15.403, 19.172.)

III. Eumaeus' Story (15.403–484).
This story is composed with various time and introductory expressions. There is no single technique that is consistently used, and the digression lacks a repeated theme. As before, the most important introductory expressions are ἔνθα (used twice — 412, 415 — at important structural divisions), ἀλλ' ὅτε δή (used three times — 446, 457, 477) and αὐτάρ (αὐτὰρ ἐπεί in 438, αὐτὰρ ἐγών in 470, αὐτὰρ ἐγώ in 481).

IV. Antinous Tells of the Web (2.85–128).
This story is organized around the repeated theme (87 and 111) of the suitors and their behavior toward Penelope. The similarity of language is reminiscent of *Ritournellkomposition*: σοὶ δ' οὔ τι μνηστῆρες in 87, σοὶ δ' ὧδε μνηστῆρες in 111.

V. Penelope Tells of the Web (19.123–163).
The theme here (137 and 157–158) is the tension between the intentions of the suitors and the stratagems devised by Penelope.

VI. Amphimedon Tells of the Web (24.120–190).

There is no repeated theme, but everything depends upon introductory expressions. This is particularly noticeable in the second half of the story (151–185). The expressions used are ἔνθ᾽ (151), αὐτάρ (162, 176), αὐτὰρ ἔπειτ᾽ (180), ἀλλ᾽ ὅτε (172), ἀλλ᾽ ὅτε δή (164).

THE SONG OF ARES AND APHRODITE. 8.266–369

The bard Demodocus sings this song as part of the entertainment offered to Odysseus by the Phaeacians.[40] There are three long sections, with an introduction and conclusion (which refer to the bard and the applause for his song). The digression is ordered according to a form of the repeated theme style, for its structure depends on the many comings and goings of the various characters.

I. 270–299. This section (which describes the wiles of Hephaestus) is itself broken into two subsections, each of which is composed of three parts. Each of the six parts is introduced and divided from the rest of the story by an expression describing the arrival or departure of one of the characters. The expressions used are: βῆ ῥ᾽ ἴμεν ἐς χαλκεῶνα, 273; βῆ ῥ᾽ ἴμεν ἐς θάλαμον, 277; εἴσατ᾽ ἴμεν ἐς Λῆμνον, 283; βῆ δ᾽ ἴμεναι πρὸς δῶμα περικλυτοῦ Ἡφαίστοιο, 287; ἐρχομένη κατ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἕζεθ᾽, 290; τὼ δ᾽ ἐς δέμνια βάντε κατέδραθον, 296. Each of these phrases is at the beginning of a line, although not necessarily at the beginning of a sentence. The most common is some form of βῆ ῥ᾽ ἴμεν with the alternate εἴσατ᾽ ἴμεν in 283.

II. 300–342. The section describing the arrival of the other gods has three short subsections, two of which are introduced by the theme: βῆ δ᾽ ἴμεναι πρὸς δῶμα, 303; ἦλθε Ποσειδάων γαιήοχος, ἦλθ᾽ ἐριούνης / Ἑρμείας, ἦλθεν δὲ ἄναξ ἑκάεργος Ἀπόλλων, 322–323. The third subsection describes the jocular remarks of Apollo and Hermes.

III. 343–366. Here there are two subsections — the first a conversation between Hephaestus and Poseidon (343–348), and the second an account of Hephaestus' release of the culprits and their hasty departures (βεβήκει, 361; ἵκανε, 362).

The consistent use of this apparently simple stylistic device over a space of nearly a hundred lines might appear to be monotonous after a time. This is not so, since the device is very well suited to the story;

---

[40] Demodocus sings two other songs in the *Odyssey*. The first, the Quarrel of Odysseus and Achilles (8.72–82), is too short for analysis. The second, the Wooden Horse (8.499–520), is ordered around the repeated idea of Demodocus and his song (499, 514, 516, 521).

much of the point of the tale is involved with the many and sometimes simultaneous arrivals and departures of the various gods. The amusing climax is reached in the last section, with the flight of Ares and Aphrodite from the scene of the crime.

Furthermore, the repeated theme is not the only ordering device in the story. Another theme is the sun acting as a messenger to Hephaestus, a motif which appears at the beginning of both the first and second sections (270–271 and 302). It is humorously reflected in Ares' own activities as a spy after the pretended departure of Hephaestus to Lemnos (285–286). Conversation is also an important element; the serious talk of Hephaestus and Poseidon is balanced by the light banter of Apollo and Hermes.

The arrival and departure motif is a type of repeated theme. It differs from the other repeated themes which we have considered in that it occurs so often within a few lines (usually a repeated theme occurs at most three or four times in the course of a story) and that it occurs so often in the same words. This continual repetition makes the device obvious to the audience, and in a story of this frivolous type it seems not unlikely that the technique is used for humorous effect.[41]

The differences between this and other stories employing the repeated theme style are particularly interesting since this is the only occasion in Homer upon which we are given a verbatim account (fictitious as it is) of the work of another singer.

No one imagines that Homer was the only oral poet of his age; he worked within a long poetic tradition and no doubt shared the heritage with many of his contemporaries. Why, then, did Homer's creation survive, while the works of all these others perished? The answer, obviously, is to be found in his literary genius and his ability to surpass the tradition which he had inherited. His rival poets, one may well imagine, would have seemed as gifted to us as their modern Yugoslavian counterparts. Bearing these things in mind, we may consider the possibility that Homer has composed the lay of Demodocus in the style of a "typical" oral poet.

This song is of high quality, but the style in which it is composed could easily become monotonous and flat, and no doubt often did, in the hands of a mediocre poet. The simple device — "he came" and "she came" — is one which even the most talentless singer might master; it is for Homer to find its appropriate niche and to take advantage of its humorous possibilities. Perhaps it is not too farfetched to imagine that

---

[41] Note also the humorous use of epithets (334, 335, 339).

2*

in the song of Ares and Aphrodite Homer was making a conscious parody of his rival singers and their techniques.

MENELAUS IN EGYPT. 4.347–592

Menelaus tells this story in reply to Telemachus' questions concerning the fate of Odysseus. There are five sections, with an introduction and conclusion.

I. Menelaus' Plight. 351–362. This section is cyclic:

A. THE GODS DELAYED ME. 351–352 . . . θεοὶ . . . / ἔσχον . . .
           360   . . . ἔχον θεοὶ . . .
X. DESCRIPTION OF PHAROS. 354–359.

It (and hence the story as a whole) is begun with an asyndeton: Αἰγύπτῳ (351). This is a common device for beginning tales in the *Odyssey*.[42] The description of the island, moreover, is introduced with the expression νῆσος ἔπειτά τις ἔστι (354).[43]

II. Eidothea. 363–430. In this long section Menelaus describes his encounter with the nymph Eidothea and his conversation with her. There are three subsections, the first (363–369) and third (426–430) balancing each other in content. The first contains two ideas: the hunger of the Achaeans and Menelaus' meeting with the nymph. In the third Menelaus returns to his men and feasts with them. His return is balanced against the meeting with Eidothea, and the feast against the former hunger of the Achaeans.

The second subsection (370–425) is the conversation of Menelaus and Eidothea. Conversation does occur in other digressions,[44] but it is usually confined to one or two exchanges and never reaches the length and complexity that this reported conversation (as well as the one with Proteus later in the story) achieves. There are five speeches, in the order E–M–E–M–E, with the subsection ordered around the conversation

---

[42] See p. 31 above.

[43] This is a familiar expression. A similar and more usual phrase, ἔστι δέ τις, is often used (*Odyssey* 3.292, *Iliad* 11.711 and 722) in the same way — to introduce a section or subsection by leading into a description of a place.

[44] See, for example, the conversation of Hephaestus and Poseidon and Apollo and Hermes in the Song of Ares and Aphrodite (8.335–358), of Eurycleia and Autolycus in the Story of the Scar (19.403–412), and of the nurse and the Phoenicians in Eumaeus' Story (15.424–437). In the *Iliad* there is no real conversation in the digressions except for the single exchange of Zeus and Hera in Agamemnon's story of Zeus's Ate (19.101–113), although single speeches are sometimes reported (as in Nestor's account of Menoitios' Advice to Patroclus in 11.786–789).

and the changes of speaker. Each of these is introduced with standard lines (375, 394, 382–383, 398–399).

The conversation itself follows a spiral development. The first part of a speech answers what has gone before, and the second adds something new; in the next speech the same process is followed. This process can be represented *a–ab–bc–cd–etc.* For example, in her first speech Eidothea reproaches Menelaus for remaining on Pharos (*a*). He replies, saying that he does not stay willingly (*a*), and goes on to ask which god is hindering his return (*b*). She answers that Proteus will tell him how to return (*b*) and says further that he will tell him what has happened at home in his absence (*c*). Each of the last two speeches contains only one idea; Menelaus asks how to catch Proteus, and Eidothea tells him. It is clear that this is a natural pattern for a conversation to follow, but it is this very naturalness which shows the sophistication and skill of the poet. The whole exchange is not debate with blocked-out speeches, but rather a free-flowing conversation.

Eidothea's last speech (398–425) falls into three subsections (400–410, 411–419, 420–424), and the order of events is indicated by introductory and time expressions, which are consistent within each subsection. In the first, time is the operative factor (*noon* in 400 and *dawn* in 407). In the second subsection three parallel introductory expressions are used: πρῶτον (411), αὐτὰρ ἐπήν (412), ἐπήν (414). The phrase ἀλλ' ὅτε κεν δή (420) introduces the third subsection.

III. The Capture of Proteus. 431–459. There are three subsections. The first two are introduced by time expressions (*dawn* 431 and *noon* 450). The third (454–459) is cyclic or at least symmetrical, with ἡμεῖς δέ in 454 corresponding to ἡμεῖς δ' in 459.

IV. Proteus. 460–570. There are three subsections, each containing three speeches, so that the order of the whole is *PMP–MPM–PMP*. The conversation is longer than the one with Eidothea, but follows a similar spiral development.

The first subsection (460–480) contains Proteus' advice to Menelaus about his return home. Most interesting is Menelaus' speech (464–470), which is a conflation of the first speeches of Menelaus and Eidothea in the earlier conversation. The relevant lines are 373–374 and 379–381, as compared to 466–470 in the present speech.[45]

---

[45] Line 470 (νόστον θ' ὡς ἐπὶ πόντον ἐλεύσομαι ἰχθυόεντα) occurs four times in this speech. It appears at the end of Menelaus' first speech to Eidothea (381), in Eidothea's reply (390), and in her final speech (424). Even though it occurs so frequently it seems to serve no definite structural purpose. It seems to be like a balladic refrain.

In the second subsection (481–540) Proteus tells of the fates of Ajax and Agamemnon. The description of Agamemnon's death (512–537) is punctuated and ordered by various introductory expressions — ἀλλ' ὅτε δή in 514 and 519, αὐτίκα δ' in 529, αὐτάρ in 532. Menelaus does not reply in a speech, but merely weeps (538–540).

The final subsection (541–570) is concerned with the whereabouts of Odysseus and the future of Menelaus. The spiral style is also evident here. Proteus, commenting on Menelaus' grief in the preceding subsection, says, "Do not weep." He then instructs Menelaus to go home and to take part in Aegisthus' funeral feast (*a*). Menelaus replies that he understands this (*a*) but refers to Proteus' earlier promise to tell the fates of three of the Greeks. He has told about Ajax and Agamemnon, but who is the third man (*b*)? Proteus answers that the third man is Odysseus (*b*) and goes on to say that in the future Menelaus will be transported to the Elysian fields (*c*).

After predicting Menelaus' future, Proteus disappears again into the sea, just as Eidothea had done at the close of her conversation. (See lines 425, 570.)

V. The Resolution of Menelaus' Plight. 571–586. Menelaus once again returns to his companions. The beginning of the section (571–576) is nearly the same as the beginning of the section describing his return from Eidothea (426–431). Each stage in the action is indicated by a time or introductory expression: αὐτὰρ ἐγών (571), αὐτὰρ ἐπεί (573), *dawn* (576), αὐτὰρ ἐπεί (583).

The symmetrical form of Menelaus' tale has been discussed in relation to its various sections, but it may be helpful to examine it in relation to the whole story. The plight of Menelaus in section I is balanced by its resolution in V; the conversations of Menelaus with Eidothea and Proteus also balance each other. Moreover, in section II the hunger of the Achaeans and Menelaus' encounter with the nymph are answered by his return and the partial resolution of their plight with a meal (426–431). But 426–431 are also symmetrical with section V, for the return from Eidothea and the return from Proteus are described in nearly the same words (426–431 and 571–576). The conversations not only balance each other but are themselves formed from parallel elements, since the various speeches are symmetrically arranged together to form the whole.

Menelaus' story uses some of the same structural devices as the other digressions of the *Odyssey* (particularly introductory and time expressions to indicate the order of events), but it is unique among the

disgressions in conception and overall structure. The form of the tale is symmetrical, with repetition used to indicate the balanced structure. The most important result is freedom for the poet, for the symmetric style allows the composer far more latitude than either the cyclic style of the *Iliad* or the more usual repeated theme technique of the *Odyssey*. The symmetry governs the whole digression, but the individual units of the story are not tightly organized. Sections II and IV follow the pattern of conversational exchange between Menelaus and Eidothea and Menelaus and Proteus. In cases where there is no such ready-made ordering device the poet returns to introductory and time expressions, and on occasion to simple ring composition.[46]

IV. Conclusion

In this study we have examined the principal digressions of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, but as yet we have not attempted to answer the main questions inherent in the discussion. Is the structural composition of the digressions homogeneous within each poem? Is it homogeneous for both poems? Are there strong stylistic differences or similarities between the two poems which would lead to any conclusions about their authorship — that is, whether they were composed by the same poet or by different poets?

We must first review and summarize the observations made on the style of the digressions. The three styles are ring composition, *Ritournellkomposition*, and the repeated theme. The following table classifies the digressions of the two poems according to the style of their composition. (It is important to note that some digressions may appear in several categories — an indication that more than one style may be employed in a single story.)

I. Simple Ring Composition

Iliad

Agamemnon's Scepter (2.100–109)
Catalogue of Ships (2.494–759)
Dione's Catalogue (5.381–404)

---

[46] The short stories about Odysseus told by Helen and Menelaus (4.240–264 and 265–289) are not similar to the story of Proteus. Rather, they are almost mirror images of each other. They are the same length and follow a parallel structure. The introductions (compare 240–243 and 269–272) are extremely similar. In both stories the introduction is followed by three subsections, each introduced in characteristic style. In Helen's story the divisions are accomplished by an asyndeton (244), ἀλλ᾿ ὅτε δή (252), ἔνθ᾿ (259). In Menelaus' story the expressions are αὐτὰρ ἐγώ (280) and ἔνθ᾿ (285).

[Genealogy of Glaucus (6.150–211)] [47]
[Ereuthalion's Armor (7.136–150)] [48]
Meriones' Helmet (10.254–272)
[Menoitios' Advice (11.765–790)] [49]
Zeus's Catalogue (14.313–328)
How Zeus Bound Hera (15.14–33)
Catalogue of Nereids (18.37–50)
Genealogy of Aeneas (20.213–241)
The Silver Mixing Bowl (23.740–749)

   Encircles Sections of:

Trojan Catalogue (2.816–877)
Genealogy of Diomedes (14.110–127)
Agamemnon's Allegory (19.86–136)
Achilles' Shield (18.478–608)

                              Odyssey

Calypso's Catalogue (5.118–129)
The Story of the Cloak (14.462–506)

   Encircles Sections of:

Menelaus' Story of Proteus (4.347–592)
Odysseus' Story to Eumaeus (14.199–359)
Odysseus' Third Story to Penelope (19.262–307)
Penelope's Story of the Web (19.123–163)

II. COMPLEX RING COMPOSITION

                              Iliad

The Portent at Aulis (2.299–332)
Agamemnon tells about Tydeus (4.370–400)
[The Story of Lycurgus (6.119–143)] [50]
The Sack of Andromache's City (6.407–432)
How Nestor Slew Ereuthalion (7.123–160)
Phoenix' Speech to Achilles (9.434–605)
[The War with the Epeians (11.668–762)] [49]
Hephaestus' Debt to Thetis (18.393–409)
Nestor's Youthful Prowess (23.624–650)
The Legend of Niobe (24.599–620)

[47] The genealogy of Glaucus and the story of Lycurgus belong to the same
episode, the Encounter of Glaucus and Diomedes.
[48] This is part of a longer digression, How Nestor Slew Ereuthalion, which is
governed by complex ring composition.
[49] The War with the Epeians and Menoitios' Advice to Patroclus belong to
the same digression, Nestor's Appeal to Patroclus.
[50] This is the same as the section concerning his Egyptian adventure in the
Story to Eumaeus. It contains the motif of divine intervention.

Odyssey

Genealogy of Theoclymenus (15.223–257)
Odysseus' Scar (19.386–470)
The Story of the Bow (21.8–42)

Encircles Sections of:

Nestor's Account of the Greek Sufferings (3.102–200)

III. RITOURNELLKOMPOSITION

Iliad

Menelaus and Odysseus in Troy (3.204–224)
Dione's Catalogue (5.381–404)
Zeus's Catalogue (14.313–328)
Achilles' Shield (18.478–608)

Odyssey

Calypso's Catalogue (5.118–129)
Catalogue of Heroines (11.225–329)

IV. REPEATED THEME COMPOSITION

Iliad

None

Odyssey

Antinous' Story of the Web (2.85–112)
Nestor's Account of the Greek Sufferings (3.102–200)
Orestes' Revenge (3.253–312)
The Loves of Ares and Aphrodite (8.266–367)
The Wooden Horse (8.499–521)
Odysseus' Story to Athena (13.256–286)
Odysseus' Story to Eumaeus (14.199–359)
[Odysseus' Story to Antinous (17.415–444)] [50]
Penelope's Story of the Web (19.123–163)
Odysseus' First, Second, and Third Stories to Penelope (19.165–202, 221–248, 262–307)
Odysseus' First Story to Laertes (24.266–279)

V. INTRODUCTORY EXPRESSIONS (Used Independently of Any Other Style)

Iliad

None

Odyssey

Helen's Story of Odysseus (4.240–264)
Menelaus' Story of Odysseus (4.265–289)
How Odysseus Came to Scheria (7.241–297)
The Story of the Cloak (14.462–506)[51]
Eumaeus' Story (15.403–484)
Amphimedon's Story of the Web (24.120–190)
Odysseus' Second Story to Laertes (24.304–314)

VI. NOT COMPOSED IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PRECEDING TECHNIQUES

Iliad

None

Odyssey

Menelaus' Story of Proteus (4.347–592)[52]
Quarrel of Odysseus and Achilles (8.72–82)[53]

A glance at this table indicates certain striking differences in the digressions of the two poems. Of the twenty-four digressions discussed in the *Iliad*, either simple or complex ring composition governs twenty-three. Only the story of Menelaus and Odysseus in Troy has no cyclic element. The description of Achilles' Shield is told in the *ritournelle* style, but the simple cyclic style is employed in some sections.[54] Of the twenty-seven digressions of the *Odyssey*, on the other hand, only two are governed by the simple and three by the complex cyclic style, while parts of five others have some cyclic elements.

The most general use of *Ritournellkomposition* is in catalogues,[55] although it is used in the description of Menelaus and Odysseus in Troy as well as in the description of Achilles' Shield.

Repeated theme composition is not found in the *Iliad*, but it governs more of the digressions of the *Odyssey* than any other single style, for thirteen digressions are composed in this style. The repeated theme is a

---

[51] The Story of the Cloak is encircled by a single ring, but its primary structure is based around the use of introductory expressions.

[52] This story is far more sophisticated in structure than any of the other digressions, employing style and techniques not found elsewhere in the poems. See discussion above, pp. 36–37.

[53] This story is too short to provide material for analysis.

[54] See *Iliad* 18.478–479 and 481–482, 497 and 502, 535 and 539.

[55] *Ritournellkomposition* is used also in catalogue sections of longer digressions (e.g., the catalogue of suppliants, *Iliad* 9.574–595, in Phoenix' Speech; and the catalogue of dead Achaeans, *Odyssey* 3.102–129, in Nestor's Story of the Greek Sufferings).

more flexible device than ring composition or *Ritournellkomposition*, as we have seen above.[56] Exact repetition of wording is not required, but only the repetition of a simple theme which is ordinarily general enough to permit considerable variety in structure and content.

Because this style is so flexible, there is a need for other techniques as well in conjunction with it. Very occasionally the cyclic style is used.[57] More often use is made of introductory and time expressions, to mark the structural divisions and to indicate the order of events. The introductory expressions most frequently used are αὐτάρ, ἀλλ᾽ ὅτε δή, and ἔνθα, although others are often employed.[58] In most cases it does not appear that the poet has made a concentrated effort to be consistent in his choice of introductory expressions within a digression or even within its separate sections.[59] Often, however, introductory and time expressions may be the sole ordering forces in a story and are used without the repeated theme. This occurs in seven digressions in the *Odyssey*.

A further interesting use of introductory expressions occurs in the *Iliad* — in the pedigree of Agamemnon's Scepter and in the Catalogue of Nereids. The list in each case is punctuated by introductory expressions. The descent of Agamemnon's Scepter is divided into thirds by αὐτάρ,[60] while the Catalogue of Nereids is punctuated by ἔνθ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἔην and ἔνθα δ᾽ ἔην.[61] At other times in the *Iliad* the introductory expressions occur as a part of the cyclic style, as in Nestor's Appeal to Patroclus, where the phrase αὐτὰρ Ἀχιλλεῦ (11.664 and 762) indicates a ring. Similarly, in Phoenix' Speech the phrase ἀλλ᾽ Ἀχιλεῦ encircles the allegory of the Prayers and Ate (9.496 and 513). In the *Odyssey* a different use of introductory expressions within the cyclic style is found in the Story of the Cloak. The cyclic style here depends upon repeated sentiments about the age of the beggar, but events within the story are ordered by introductory expressions. A similar case is found in the *Iliad*

---

[56] See pp. 5 and 23 above.

[57] The cyclic style is used in sections of Nestor's Story of the Greek Sufferings (3.165–166 and 182–183, 167 and 180–182), Odysseus' Story to Eumaeus (14.199 and 204, 321 and 323), Odysseus' Third Story to Penelope (19.262–264 and 268, 272–273 and 282–284, 273–274 and 277) and Penelope's Story of the Web (19.129 and 136).

[58] There is also a certain amount of variation in the three expressions themselves, for occasionally it is αὐτὰρ ἐπεί rather than αὐτάρ, or ἀλλ᾽ ὅτε instead of ἀλλ᾽ ὅτε δή.

[59] The principal exception to this is the long story to Eumaeus in which the introductory expressions are used consistently and in patterns throughout.

[60] *Iliad* 2.103, 105, 107.

[61] *Iliad* 18.39 and 47.

in the repeated use of ἔνθα to indicate structural divisions in the complex cyclic tale of the Portent at Aulis.

From this discussion it is clear that the digressions in the two poems differ in style. The digressions of the *Iliad* are homogeneous in style, while several styles are represented in the *Odyssey*. Moreover, while the *Iliad* is cyclic, the digressions in the *Odyssey* are largely governed by styles not significant in the *Iliad*. The repeated theme appears to be confined to the *Odyssey*, while only Odysseus' Story of the Portent at Aulis in *Iliad* 2 is parallel to the digressions of the *Odyssey* in its use of introductory expressions. Together these two techniques govern eighteen of the twenty-seven digressions in the *Odyssey*.

Clearly all the techniques have a practical as well as a decorative function. They are aids to composition. Ring composition, for example, serves two functions. A simple ring encircling an episode is an excellent way to insert a short passage into the larger fabric of the poem, or merely to indicate the beginning and end of a digression. Complex cyclic composition provides a means by which the poet may progress into the heart of an episode and back to the main stream of the poem through a series of concentric circles.

Ring composition, however, is formal in nature and imposes certain restrictions which sometimes may be difficult to follow. The style is not really appropriate for telling the events of a story, for these ordinarily progress in linear rather than cyclical fashion. It demands at the very least that the poet end his episode in the same way that he began it, and this doubling back by itself is often a hindrance to the forward flow of the story. An indication that the limitations of the style were felt in the composition of the *Iliad* is found in the use of developing ring composition, [62] which allows the poet to avoid doubling back and to preserve the illusion of ring composition without in fact adhering to it.

The germ of a more flexible style is present in the *Ritournellkomposition* of the catalogues, by which the poet is able to add an unlimited number of items to a series simply by prefacing each addition with a tag line or phrase. From this it is but a small step to composition by repeated theme, by which the poet might add any number of episodes to his story simply by introducing each with a general theme. The motif need not be repeated in the same words each time; more often it is not. The general quality of the theme gives great latitude to the poet but

---

[62] See, for example, *Iliad* 11.736–738 and 759–761, and 9.533–534 and 547–548.

also makes it necessary to employ subordinate techniques to indicate more clearly the structure of the story. Such a technique is the use of introductory expressions. Sometimes in shorter digressions, as we have seen, the introductory expressions may themselves be sufficient, without the repeated theme.

All these changes may be visualized as part of an evolutionary process in the development of the epic style. The structure exists for the benefit of the poet and his public; as their requirements change and expand, the style must also continue to develop if the creation of epic is to remain a living art. We suggest, therefore, that the differences in style between the digressions of the two poems resulted from the evolutionary nature of poetic style and the attendant need to modify stylistic techniques to suit narrative requirements.

NEWTON COLLEGE OF THE SACRED HEART

BACCHYLIDES' *ODE* 5: IMITATION AND ORIGINALITY

Mary R. Lefkowitz

BACCHYLIDES is a conventional poet, and no one begins to speak of him without apology. Among English-speaking peoples, conventionality in writing is like sin: publicly denounced, but privately practiced. As T. S. Eliot observed, "we dwell with satisfaction on a poet's difference from his predecessors; we endeavor to find something that can be isolated in order to be enjoyed." [1] Yet to think that singularity is all that matters is to ignore the fact of language itself: we learn and communicate by imitation; we think in predetermined patterns. Comprehensible originality ultimately derives from slow permutation of established forms. Convention in this sense, then, has been as vital to poetry as invention, particularly in antiquity, when poems were meant to be heard and apprehended instantly, without the luxury of time and footnotes that the printed page affords.

[1] On the English predilection for originality, see T. S. Eliot, "Tradition and Individual Talent," in *The Sacred Wood: Essays on Poetry and Criticism* (2nd ed., London 1928) 47–48, and D. S. Carne-Ross, "The Gaiety of Language". *Arion* 1.3 (1962) 86. The problem has been of particular concern to Homeric scholars; see Milman Parry, "The Traditional Metaphor in Homer," *CP* 28 (1933) 41; Cedric Whitman, *Homer and the Heroic Tradition* (Cambridge, Mass. 1958) 103; and James A. Notopoulos, "Studies in Early Greek Poetry," *HSCP* 68 (1964) 45–65. Critical standards at the present time generally seem to remain unchanged, e.g. D. Donoghue praises Marianne Moore because she "tidies diction by eliminating repetition," in his review of *Tell Me, Tell Me*, in *New York Review of Books* 7.12 (Jan. 12, 1967) 3.

Our own negative attitude toward convention is worth noting simply because it underlies many of our value judgments about ancient poets. There is no clearer illustration of its effects than the general condescension among scholars toward Bacchylides, the poet we read *after* Pindar. Pindar's way of saying things, even in this day and age, seems fresh and original. By contrast, Bacchylides' traditional diction seems commonplace and second-rate. We work so hard to understand Pindar that Bacchylides' relative clarity seems an indication of lack of seriousness, or perhaps of overconcern with craftsmanship. We do not really question the judgment of later antiquity, that Bacchylides imitated the works of other poets because he had no ideas of his own.[2]

It is possible that our unconscious prejudice has made us lose sight of what conventional poetry is about. Before the right audience, tradition and imitation can convey as much as direct metaphor. We are all aware of how Virgil "translates" passages from the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* into the *Aeneid* to give new depth of meaning to Aeneas' wanderings and suffering in war. As Professor Clausen has reminded us, "obvious and successful imitation was for a Latin poet, as for a late Greek poet, a form of originality."[3] I would like to suggest that some-

[2] For a collection of representative comments, see E. D. Townsend, "Bacchylides and Lyric Style" (diss. Bryn Mawr 1956) App. II. Recent additions to the list include Carne-Ross (above, n. 1); Herwig Maehler, *Die Auffassung des Dichterberufs im frühen Griechentum bis zur Zeit Pindars* (Hypomnemata 3, Göttingen 1963); and Marlene Cutler Demarque, "Traditional and Individual Ideas in Bacchylides" (diss. Illinois 1966); and, with some qualifications, G. M. Kirkwood, "The Narrative Art of Bacchylides," *The Classical Tradition: Literary and Historical Studies in Honor of Harry Caplan*, ed. L. Wallach (Ithaca, N.Y. 1966) 98–114. For more sensitive and sympathetic considerations, see Adam Parry, Introduction to *Bacchylides: The Complete Poems*, tr. R. Fagles (New Haven 1961); John F. Oates, "Bacchylides' Fifth Ode," *CW* 57.3 (Dec 1963) 102; Robert L. Wind, "Bacchylides' Odes 5, 17, and 18: A Study in Point of View" (diss. Iowa 1964, Univ. microfilm #65–518); Jacob Stern, "The Imagery of Bacchylides' *Ode* 5," *GRBS* 8 (1967) 35–43, and "Bestial Imagery in Bacchylides' *Ode* 11," *GRBS* 6 (1965) 275–282. On the ancient view of Bacchylides as an imitator and plagiarist, see especially the scholia on Pindar *Pythian* 2.132 and 166d; C. M. Bowra, *Problems in Greek Poetry* (Oxford 1953) 79–81; W. C. McDermott, "The Ape in Greek Literature," *TAPA* 66 (1935) 170–171; and Kirkwood, 98–99.

[3] On imitation as originality, see Wendell Clausen, "An Interpretation of the *Aeneid*" in *Vergil*, ed. S. Commager (Englewood Cliffs, N.J. 1966) 75. Ready examples of creative imitation after Bacchylides' day would include the close groupings by subject matter in the Greek anthology, Catullus' personal interpretation (51) of Sappho 31LP = 2D, and see the rhetoricians' comments on "translation," e.g. Quintilian 10.2, "Longinus" 12.2–4, and Aulus Gellius 60.9.

thing of the kind was also true for earlier Greek poets. Bacchylides'
audiences were not literary or even literate in the sense that Virgil's
were, but they could recognize by ear phrases and words from earlier
poetry that we can recall to ourselves only by elaborate artificial analysis.
Generations before Bacchylides, poets set epithets and lines from heroic
epic into new contexts. For example, Mimnermus' lines about the
transience of youth, "we like the leaves of the many flowers the spring
brings forth, when the sun's rays warm them," have special poignancy
because they are derived from Homer's famous simile about mortality.
Similarly, Tyrtaeus' brutal commentary on the unseemliness of old
men's death becomes more painful because it is based on Priam's too
soon realized fears, as he sees Hector go out to meet Achilles.[4] In the
same sense Bacchylides' archaizing and Homeric reminiscences are
intended to emphasize by contrast his different point of view, a new con-
centration on humanity in all its limitations. Emphasis on mortal values
and achievements is in fact a hallmark of Bacchylides' poetry, and per-
haps more significantly, an early indication of a dominant trend to come
in Greek literature and art. But the uses of convention in Bacchylides
do not end here. Imitation is for him, as it was for Homer, a principle of
composition. He resets and rephrases what he said earlier in the poem
to join together the different aspects of his narrative. This self-imitation
results in an implicit unity more reminiscent of the strung-out paratactic
idiom of epic than of the self-conscious, closely integrated structuring of
Pindar's *Odes*. Thus in organizational technique, as in language,

---

[4] Mimnermus' comparison of human life to summer leaves (2D) derives from
Iliad 6.146ff (see n. 25), and Tyrtaeus' morbid lines (6,7.21–28D) are modeled
on *Iliad* 22.66–76. Demodocus' narrative of Aphrodite's bath in *Odyssey* 362–
366, which derives in outline from description of actual ritual, is recast in
Homeric Hymn 5.58–63, with lines paired by an initial repetition that emphasizes
sensual effect: see Howard N. Porter, "Repetition in the Homeric Hymn to
Aphrodite," *AJP* 70 (1949) 266–268. The first ten lines of Hesiod's *Works and
Days* are transformed by Solon into a statement about city government (3D),
and by Archilochus into a commentary on the suffering of individual man
(58D). On Archilochus' other adaptations from Homer, see Denys L. Page,
"Archilochus and the Oral Tradition," *Entretiens Hardt* 10 (1964) 126; on
Hesiod's use of the raw materials of *Iliad* 1 in his description of the two strifes in
Works and Days 11–41, see Eric A. Havelock, "Thoughtful Hesiod," *YCS* 20
(1966) 61–72; and on epic terminology in Greek lyric poetry generally, A. E.
Harvey, "Homeric Epithets in Greek Lyric Poetry," *CQ* n.s. 7 (1957) 206–223.
Additional examples of imitation are the critical adaptations of Mimnermus 6D
by Solon (22.1–4D) and of Cleobulus by Simonides (581LP = 48D); cf. also
the "can you top this?" restatements of the Harmodius and Aristogeiton scolia
(893–896LP = 9–12D); and see Plutarch *Symp. Quaest.* 1.615b, Solon 13D
(= Theognis 1253–1254), and Theognis 1255–1258, 595ff, 1071ff.

Bacchylides draws on the oral past, a fact which says more about the
demands and interests of his audience than it does about his relative
merits as a poet.[5]

In other words, I think it is time that we looked at Bacchylides on his
own terms, to forget that we are reading, to imagine instead that we are
hearing the poem as it is performed. Approached in that way Bacchylides
will be seen to use imitation creatively, to employ reiteration and reminis-
cence with telling emotional effect, and to be interested not so much in
ornamentation as in communication. Although any of the victory odes or
the longer narrative dithyrambs could show what I mean about his
effective adaptation of the oral tradition, I have chosen *Ode 5* as an
illustration, because it draws on epic with which we are familiar, the
Iliad, the *Odyssey*, and Hesiod's *Theogony*.

Ode 5, Bacchylides' *First Olympian Ode* for Hieron, begins with an
invocation to his patron (1–6):

> Εὔμοιρε Συρακοσίων
> ἱπποδινήτων στραταγέ,
> γνώσῃ μὲν ἰοστεφάνων
> Μοισᾶν γλυκύδωρον ἄγαλμα, τῶν γε νῦν
> αἴ τις ἐπιχθονίων,
> ὀρθῶς . . .

Here are all the conventional elements of praise: references to Hieron's
past success in war ("general of Syracusans"), allusion to his victory
in the horse race ("whirled by horses") and to the victory song that his
achievements merit ("the Muses' brilliance"). The Muses' flowery
crowns and the "brightness" of poetry go back to epic. So does the
statement in the explicit new adjective γλυκύδωρος that song is intrinsi-
cally sweet and a divine favor "given" by the Muses.[6] But in spite of all

---

[5] On repetition as a principle of composition, see James A. Notopoulos,
"Continuity and Interconnection in Homeric Oral Composition," *TAPA* 82
(1951) 90–96; "Mnemosyne in Oral Literature," *TAPA* 69 (1938) 467; and
Porter (above, n. 4) 270. On audience participation, see Notopoulos, "Parataxis
in Homer," *TAPA* 80 (1949) 19–22.

[6] On Bacchylides' epithets, new and traditional, see Townsend (above, n. 2).
E. Burger's index in Snell[8] notes only *hapax legomena*, not words first used by
Bacchylides which occur later elsewhere. "Sweet song" is the Muses' gift to the
bard in *Odyssey* 8.64 and Hesiod *Theogony* 104 (see below on lines 6–16). The
idea is so familiar that Pindar can speak in *Isthmian* 8.9 of bringing "something
sweet (γλυκύ τι) before the people" and count on his audience to understand
that he means song; see my article, "The First Person in Pindar," *HSCP* 67
(1963) n. 103. "Violet-crowned" does not occur in Homer, who has only the
more general "well-crowned" (εὐστέφανος), and is used first of Aphrodite in
Homeric Hymn 6.18 and Solon 19.4; see n. 10.

these familiar themes, these opening lines contain much that is un-
conventional. Victory odes usually start with an invocation to divinity,
a patron deity of song or victory or homeland, but this ode begins directly
with a mortal, the victor, Hieron of Syracuse.[7] The first word sets a tone
of unusual confidence; it is a new compound, εὔμοιρος, modeled on the
traditional εὐδαίμων but particularly noticeable because it makes some-
thing positive out of the old destructive Moira of epic tradition, "man's
lot," which is death. Bacchylides' emphasis is not on divine support but
on human achievement. Hieron is "fortunate" because of his success in
war against the Carthaginians, his rule over Syracuse, and her whirling
horses that brought him victory at Olympia. The adjective ἱπποδίνητος
itself alters the "horse-driven" (ἱππήλατος) chariots of Homeric heroes
with the more directly relevant δινεῖν, which suggests turning in practice
for the racetrack.[8] The individuality implied in these new adjectives be-
comes explicit in the assertion that completes the opening sentence:
"you will recognize glory, sweet gift of the Muses, if any mortal today
can, rightly." The extent of Hieron's wealth, and the presence in his
court of poets as well known as Aeschylus, Pindar, Simonides, and
Bacchylides, evidently demanded a superlative statement, since Pindar
also says in his *First Olympian Ode* for Hieron, written for this same
occasion: "I trust I shall never ornament a host in the folds of song who
knows beauty more or who has more sovereign power" (103–105). But
where Pindar emphasizes the poet's importance, Bacchylides keeps the
focus clearly on Hieron: he is the subject of the sentence; all else —
Syracusans, horses, glory, Muses, and other mortals — is subordinate to
him. We need only compare the opening of Bacchylides' ode to the
celebrated poem of Pindar's *First Olympian*, with its metaphysical
constants, water, gold, fire, and the sun, with whose bright existence
Hieron's outstanding achievement can have temporary kinship, to see
the difference in Bacchylides' orientation. His primary concern is with
the man himself, the individual, with all the limitations of his under-
standing ("if any mortal can") and his mortality.

[7] Bacchylides' *Ode* 6 also begins with direct praise of the victor, but his other
odes, like Pindar's, start with invocations to divinity, statements about poetry,
or γνῶμαι. The nearest thing to direct praise in a Pindaric proem occurs in the
enkomion to Xenophon of Corinth (122S = 107B) "O girls much-visited," but
even here the description is in very general terms. Elsewhere Pindar tends to be
more abstract, starting with a general statement about some enduring quality,
then moving only gradually to his mortal subject, e.g. the enkomia to Theoxenus
and Thrasybulus (123, 124S = 108, 109B).

[8] δινέω is used of plowing in *Iliad* 18.543, and of Eteocles nervously wheeling
his horses before the fifth gate in Aeschylus' *Seven Against Thebes* 461–462.

The next lines are also addressed to Hieron, and once again their general import seems conventional (6–16):

> Φρένα δ' εὐθύδικον
> ἀτρέμ' ἀμπαύσας μεριμνᾶν
>   δεῦρ' ἄθρησον νόῳ·
> ἦ σὺν Χαρίτεσσι βαθυζώνοις ὑφάνας
>   ὕμνον ἀπὸ ζαθέας
> νάσου ξένος ὑμετέραν πέμ-
>   πει κλεεννὰν ἐς πόλιν,
> χρυσάμπυκος Οὐρανίας
>   κλεινὸς θεράπων· ἐθέλει δὲ
> γᾶρυν ἐκ στηθέων χέων
> αἰνεῖν Ἱέρωνα.

The idea of the just ruler finding relief through the sweetness of song goes back to Hesiod's *Theogony* (81–86, 96–103):

> ὅν τινα τιμήσωσι Διὸς κοῦραι μεγάλοιο
> γεινόμενόν τε ἴδωσι διοτρεφέων βασιλήων,
> τῷ μὲν ἐπὶ γλώσσῃ γλυκερὴν χείουσιν ἐέρσην,
> τοῦ δ' ἔπε' ἐκ στόματος ῥεῖ μείλιχα· οἱ δέ τε λαοὶ
> πάντες ἐς αὐτὸν ὁρῶσι διακρίνοντα θέμιστας
> ἰθείῃσι δίκῃσιν . . .
>
>   ὃ δ' ὄλβιος, ὅν τινα Μοῦσαι
> φίλωνται· γλυκερή οἱ ἀπὸ στόματος ῥέει αὐδή.
> εἰ γάρ τις καὶ πένθος ἔχων νεοκηδέι θυμῷ
> ἄζηται κραδίην ἀκαχήμενος, αὐτὰρ ἀοιδὸς
> Μουσάων θεράπων κλέεα προτέρων ἀνθρώπων
> ὑμνήσῃ μάκαράς τε θεούς, οἳ Ὄλυμπον ἔχουσιν,
> αἶψ' ὅ γε δυσφροσυνέων ἐπιλήθεται οὐδέ τι κηδέων
> μέμνηται· ταχέως δὲ παρέτραπε δῶρα θεάων.

But Bacchylides has not copied Hesiod as much as rephrased him in contemporary terms. The primary emphasis is now on human action. Hesiod's "Muses love" and "pour sweet dew" have become the single concept "brilliance, sweet gift of the Muses"; "judging with straight directions" (ἰθείῃσι δίκῃσιν) has become the more static "straight-directing" (εὐθύδικος) heart of Hieron. The man's sorrow, new troubles, fears, and grief in Hesiod are combined into the single "cares" (μεριμνᾶν). Hesiod's bard, "servant of the Muses," has become in Bacchylides' fifth-century context a more specific "servant of Urania gold-banded," an agent rather than an instrument, himself creator of song with the Graces' assistance rather than direction, himself sending

song from city to city as an expression of individual friendship. Bacchylides has worked Hesiod's traditional formalities and extrapersonalizations into a contemporary idiom of personal responsibility. Perhaps the best example of how he has translated Hesiod is the phrase "he wants to pour song from his heart in praise of Hieron." Bacchylides pours his own song, where in the *Theogony* the Muses pour dew on the bard's lips, and "sweet speech flows from his mouth," almost involuntarily, because they love him. The force of the metaphor, the magic of Hesiod's liquid dew are gone, so is the formulaic repetition "sweet dew" and "honey" in 83–84 and "sweet speech" in 96. As in the case of "straight-judging" and "sweet-gift" all that remains to suggest Hesiod's larger context is the attenuated "pours his song," which derives in part from still another epic expression, this time of lamentation, e.g. the nightingale's song in the *Odyssey*, where she "pours forth her sounding voice in praise of her child, her own Itylus" (19.520–522).[9] Bacchylides has changed the subject matter; his song is quite explicitly a hymn of "praise." But "wants to pour from his heart" rather strangely retains the emotional force of the epic idiom, reinforcing the implications of "sorrows" in line 7.

Reminiscences set in this new context suggest the sanctity of the past without detracting from the reality of the present. Bacchylides carefully preserves the essential trappings of the old patronesses of songs: each of the epithets, "violet-crowned" Muses, "deep-girdled" Graces, "gold-banded" Urania, is traditional, and each has to do with the clothing and ornamentation that are the hallmark of these deities that forever bathe, dress, dance, and rise to heaven, suggesting the earth's renewed fertility and returning spring. In epic Aphrodite, too, is violet-crowned, Leto is deep-girdled, and the seasons wear gold headbands.[10]

---

[9] Bacchylides' "pouring forth song from his heart" like a nightingale (cf. *Ode* 3.98) recalls *Homeric Hymn* 19.16–18, where the bird "pouring forth lamentation pours a honey-sounding song" (θρῆνον ἐπιπροχέουσα χέει μελίγηρυν ἀοιδήν, emended in the OCT to the less repetitious ἐπιπροχέουσ' ἀχέει). See also Pindar *Isthmian* 8.64 (of the Muses mourning for Achilles) and "Hesiod" *Shield* 386–401 (of the grasshopper's song in the searing midday heat).

[10] "Deep-girdled" in Homer suggests fertility and motherhood (e.g. leading off children and deep-girdled women in *Iliad* 9.596, *Odyssey* 3.154); Bacchylides speaks of Minos "harnessing" deep-girdled Dexithea in *Ode* 1.117. Pindar also uses the epithet to describe the Graces in *Pythian* 9.2, two years after Bacchylides' *Ode* 5, but then he spoke of "deep-girdled Muses" several years before in *Isthmian* 6. Carne-Ross (above, n. 2) 80, suggests the phrase must come from a common fund of poetic knowledge, since it is otherwise too intense and concentrated for Bacchylides' "gaiety." Urania's golden headband also derives from

The sight of one of these repeated upward journeys, of the Muses danc-
ing on Mt. Helicon on their way to Olympus, inspired Hesiod to write
the *Theogony*. By selecting these particular sacral epithets Bacchylides
hints at the traditional mythology of the bard's sacral role but at the same
time manages in his new context to keep all the deities subordinate to
himself: he has woven his song with the aid of the Graces and as servant
of Urania, but he is the prime agent of the sentence's action.

   In short, the imitation of Hesiod and the recollections of epic vocabu-
lary reveal by contrast how personal Bacchylides' orientation has be-
come. Moreover, they set a tone for this passage that develops and
focuses the key themes of the ode's invocation. What seems to be hap-
pening here is that the confidence of the poem's opening lines gives way
to an immediate concern; Hieron is no longer victor but ruler, dealing
with rights and wrongs, with the adjective "straight-judging" chaneling
the general qualities of "rightly" (ὀρθῶς) above into a specific reference
to affairs of state. Similarly the phrase "take yourself fearlessly from
cares" makes the hesitation in "if any mortal today now can" more
intense and immediate. There is at the same time a greater specificity
of time and place: instead of the general "brilliance, sweet gift of the
Muses," Hieron is urged to look directly where a singular "servant"
of one particular Muse, the "heavenly" Urania, has woven the present
"hymn" of praise. In fact, the value of song is now expressed in very
human and concrete terms. Hieron is urged to look with his "mind"
(νόος, "perception"), as if words were visible things. By punning on the
root meaning of "song" (ὕμνος) with the verb "weave" (ὑφαίνω)
Bacchylides makes song into a tangible artifact, a woven "web" that
can be *sent* from one city to another. There is with this an immediate
communication and response of action: Hieron's looking is matched by
Bacchylides' sending and praising, the "famous" (κλεεννά) city of
Syracuse attracts the "famous" (κλεινός) servant of Urania. The poet
himself is a guest-friend, and the intensity of his affection is emphasized
in the reiterant "he wants / from his heart," "to pour forth words / in
praise" in the final clause of the sentence.

---

epic: the seasons wear them as they dress Aphrodite in *Homeric Hymn* 6.5
and 12, and Pindar uses the epithet of the Muses in their chariot (*Isthmian* 2.102,
and cf. *Iliad* 5.358, where Homer speaks of gold-banded horses). Bacchylides'
transition from the myth in lines 176ff seems to imply that here and in 31ff he
has the archetypal poetic chariot in mind, where the bard is charioteer, the
horses female (preferred for chariot always), and maidens lead the way, as in
Odyssey 6.255ff and in Parmenides' proem (1.5DK); see Leonardo Taran,
Parmenides (Princeton 1965) 13.

Pindar, of course, stresses some of the same aspects of the poet's role. He leads and commands the Muses; his song, too, has the power to heal and to relieve sorrow; he speaks warmly of his patrons' guest-friendship and represents his song as a wreath or crown of victory. The difference is that where Pindar tends to emphasize the most general and most transcendent qualities of his duty as a poet, e.g. a metaphorical gold in healing, the whiteness of victory, the table of hospitality, Bacchylides speaks of the concrete and practical, the real accomplishments, the actual songs, the friendship of the moment.[11] His tense here in the opening lines of *Ode 5* is the transitory aorist, his vision is like the portrait of a single figure on a red-figured vase, idealized, but essentially real and human. There are no specific dates or events mentioned in the proem to this Olympian ode, but Hieron rules in an imperfect world, happy only in measure. The introduction to this ode keeps us in a present world, significant because of its clear connection with the past, but vulnerable too in its hesitations and qualifications of happiness, and in the sheer humanity of its personal contacts.

The next lines (16–30) break away suddenly from the intimate reality and the poignant realizations of the opening passage:

> βαθὺν
> δ' αἰθέρα ξουθαῖσι τάμνων
> ὑψοῦ πτερύγεσσι ταχεί-
>   αις αἰετὸς εὐρυάνακτος ἄγγελος
> Ζηνὸς ἐρισφαράγου
>   θαρσεῖ κρατερᾷ πίσυνος
> ἰσχύϊ, πτάσσοντι δ' ὄρνι-
>   χες λιγύφθογγοι φόβῳ·
> οὔ νιν κορυφαὶ μεγάλας ἴσχουσι γαίας,
>   οὐδ' ἁλὸς ἀκαμάτας
> δυσπαίπαλα κύματα· νωμᾶ-
>   ται δ' ἐν ἀτρύτῳ χάει
> λεπτότριχα σὺν ζεφύρου πνοι-
>   αῖσιν ἔθειραν ἀρίγνω-
> τος μετ' ἀνθρώποις ἰδεῖν.

The transition to the picture of an eagle's flight seems very abrupt to our untrained ears. But the Greek audience was used to epic parataxis, and to them adjacency alone would suggest some direct connection between

---

[11] On statements of friendship, cf. Pindar *Pythian* 10.63, *Olympian* 1.97–103, and *Nemean* 1.20; and on the healing powers of song, cf. *Isthmian* 8.5–8 and *Pythian* 3.63–77.

the eagle and the poet "pouring forth his song" like the epic nightingale in the lines immediately preceding. The concluding lines of the simile make the association explicit: "Like him I have before me ten thousand paths to sing your achievement everywhere." The combination of eagles and poetry seems rather paradoxical after Hesiod's fable about the hawk and the nightingale in *Works and Days*, but there is no better indication of the new poetic self-confidence of the fifth century. Pindar uses an eagle metaphor with similar abruptness in his *Fifth Nemean Ode*, as an introduction to the poem's main myth (19–21):

> εἰ δ' ὄλβον ἢ χειρῶν βίαν ἢ σιδαρίταν ἐπαινῆ-
>   σαι πόλεμον δεδόκηται, μακρά μοι
> αὐτόθεν ἅλμαθ' ὑποσκά-
>   πτοι τις· ἔχω γονάτων ὁρμὰν ἐλαφράν·
> καὶ πέραν πόντοιο πάλλοντ' αἰετοί.

Beginning with a simple statement of his professional duty, i.e. "to praise" (ἐπαινῆσαι, cf. αἰνεῖν, "to praise Hieron," above), he suddenly switches to a metaphor from the pankration that suggests in particular his ability as poet to cover great distance ("let someone dig me a *long* pit for *leaping*") and an inherent strength ("I have a light spring in my knees"), suggestions which he reinforces immediately with a different metaphor, "and eagles fly beyond the sea," that expresses his song's power to transcend ordinarily insurmountable distances in space and time. In other words, the metaphor implies that from Aegina and the present victory in the pankration, Pindar's song will bring us directly to the distant past and the mythical achievements of the hero Peleus.[12] Bacchylides composed his *Ode* 13 for the same occasion as *Nemean* 5 and may have heard these lines. In *Ode* 5 his eagle too flies "beyond the sea" in that the "peaks of the great earth do not overpower him, nor the tireless sea's inapproachable waves."

But Bacchylides' simile is articulated in much greater detail, as if it were clearly intended to make its relationship to the lines before more immediately explicit. Key motifs are reiterated: isolation, individuality, traversal of distance, and in this respect, curiously enough, the eagle seems to resemble Hieron as well as the poet. Our initial impression, that the eagle is in some sense Bacchylides, is reinforced by the careful choice of the word "shrill-voiced" (λιγύφθογγοι), in Homer always a

---

[12] In Pindar also parataxis is in itself a direct connection, e.g. *Pythian* 10.1–2, and the proem to *Olympian* 1. See also Notopoulos, "Parataxis in Homer" (above, n. 5) 2–23.

formulaic tag for heralds, to describe the birds surpassed by the eagle as "messenger" of "loud-thundering" Zeus. Bacchylides could probably count on his audience to make the association, just as Pindar, in an ode written in this same year for Hieron's brother-in-law Theron, uses a similar eagle/bird comparison to express his artistic superiority (*Olympian* 2.82–85):

σοφὸς ὁ πολλὰ εἰδὼς φυᾷ·
μαθόντες δὲ λάβροι
παγγλωσσίᾳ κόρακες ὣς ἄκραντα γαρυέτων
Διὸς πρὸς ὄρνιχα θεῖον.

In Pindar the jackdaws' hopeless mimicry, familiar from Aesop's fables, suggests a comparison between ability and imitation which is absent from Bacchylides' simile, where the emphasis is simply on volume (loud thunder as opposed to shrill cries), as an expression of a more general kind of superiority.[13] In fact, the explicit contrast between the eagle who trusts in his firm strength and the birds who "crouch in fear" while the eagle guides himself in "inviolate void" brings to mind a

---

[13] For the jackdaw's ludicrous imitation of the eagle, see Aesop, Fable 2. Natural superiority is the point of Hesiod's fable about the hawk and nightingale (*Works and Days* 201–212 = Aesop, Fable 4). The writers of the scholia, always happy to find historical answers to textual questions, suggest that the pair of crows in *Olympian* 2 are Bacchylides and Simonides (see on 157a); see also Bowra (above, n. 2) 79–81, and for a political interpretation of the passage, with the pair identified as Hieron's political rivals, see Bruno Gentili, *Bacchilide: Studi* (Urbino 1958) 22. But elsewhere fable and simile are not used as direct one-to-one allegory but are intended instead to illustrate more general points about human behavior in terms of the immediately familiar; see Aristotle *Rhet.* 2.20.5–8; T. B. L. Webster, *From Mycenae to Homer* (London 1958) 218–239, *Greek Art and Literature 700–530 B.C.* (London 1959) 82; Lloyd Daly, *Aesop without Morals* (New York 1961) 14–15; Whitman (above, n. 1) chap. 4; and Bruno Snell, *The Discovery of the Mind* (Cambridge, Mass. 1958, from German edition 1948) 199–204. Homer, for example, using the familiar to describe the unfamiliar, depicts Hector falling on the Greeks as an eagle swooping down on flocks of feeding birds; see *Iliad* 15.690–692 and its imitation in Alcaeus, Incert. 10LP = 52D, expressed from the other birds' point of view. Hesiod's nightingale and hawk story cruelly testifies to an old political truth; Archilochus uses the fable of the fox and the eagle, and also an adage about the hedgehog's one big trick, to suggest that even the weak have power and some means of revenge. Presumably Bacchylides and Pindar used the traditional eagle and bird simile to make correspondingly general points about the roles of poet and victor, and in *Olympian* 2 Pindar may mean simply what he says, "a pair of jackdaws"; see also John F. Oates, "Pindar's Second Pythian Ode," *AJP* 8 (1963) 383–385, and McDermott (above, n. 2) 170–171.

theme developed earlier in the ode that relates to both Bacchylides and
Hieron. The poet is like the eagle in his power to comfort a troubled and
fearful king; but at the same time the eagle's isolation from the other
birds, more immediately than anything Bacchylides has said so far
about himself, recalls the explicit superiority of Hieron's judgment,
and with it, his implied separation from other Syracusans as general and
leader. Bacchylides' recasting of Zeus's Homeric title εὐρυσθενής into
the new and more specific εὐρυάναξ hints at the natural association
between king of birds and king of men. The simile is uncannily am-
bivalent. The eagle's ability to traverse ordinarily insurmountable dis-
tances, as noted above, instantly suggests the poet's ability to "send"
song in a somewhat more literal way across the whole of the Greek world,
from Ceos off Attica to Syracuse in Sicily. But meanwhile the very
singularity of the eagle's flight, that he is "uniquely recognizable" by
men, bears resemblance to both Bacchylides as "famous" poet and
Hieron as lord of a "famous" city. For Bacchylides the eagle thus
seems to be not only an expression of professional skill but in a related
sense an ideal representation of his victor's achievement. The picture
works like a Homeric simile in giving us added dimension of repeated
action and variation of detail. Far from being a break with the preceding
lines, it is in fact a realization of all the more significant themes.[14]

---

[14] The eagle metaphor that concludes Pindar's *Nemean* 3 seems to serve the
same dual purpose as the eagle in Bacchylides' *Ode* 5: "I am sending you this,
honey mixed with white milk and dew crowning it, a songful drink in the breath-
ings of Aeolian flutes, although late. It is the eagle, swift among birds, who looks
from far off and suddenly seizes the bloody prey in his claws, and the chattering
jackdaws keep low. For you indeed, with Cleo willing, because of your athlete's
courage, from Nemea, Epidaurus, and Megara, light shines forth" (77–84). In
one sense this eagle is a dramatic statement of καιρός, i.e. of Pindar's artistic
ability to select out of all experience what is relevant and appropriate to a given
occasion, with the poet once again compared to the eagle, set off against jackdaws
(predictably identified as Bacchylides in the scholia on *Nemean* 3.143), who for
all their pretensions cannot get far above the ground. But in the context of the
ode the contrast here implied between native ability and imitation also seems
intended as praise for the victor. Pindar had spoken earlier of Achilles running
down game in the mountains, swiftly rushing back with his quarry warm and
breathing, as an example of inherent strength that cannot be taught, for a victor
as beautiful as he has been successful (40–53). The eagle metaphor in fact con-
cludes with a direct address to the victor, with a final suggestion of his singularity.
In the same way Pindar's concluding statement in *Pythian* 3, "I shall be small
among the small, great among the great, etc." (107–115), although in the first
person, refers to Hieron as well as to the poet himself; see *HSCP* 67 (1963)
222–223 and n. 107.

In the same way, however, the eagle simile serves also as an introduction to the lines that follow (31–49):

τὼς νῦν καὶ ἐμοὶ μυρία πάντα κέλευθος
　　ὑμετέραν ἀρετὰν
ὑμνεῖν, κυανοπλοκάμου θ’ ἕκατι Νίκας
　　χαλκεοστέρνου τ’ Ἄρηος,
Δεινομένευς ἀγέρωχοι
　　παῖδες· εὖ ἔρδων δὲ μὴ κάμοι θεός.
ξανθότριχα μὲν Φερένικον
　　’Αλφεὸν παρ’ εὐρυδίναν
πῶλον ἀελλοδρόμαν
　　εἶδε νικάσαντα χρυσόπαχυς ’Αώς,
Πυθῶνί τ’ ἐν ἀγαθέα·
　　γᾷ δ’ ἐπισκήπτων πιφαύσκω·
οὔπω νιν ὑπὸ προτέρων
　　ἵππων ἐν ἀγῶνι κατέχρανεν κόνις
πρὸς τέλος ὀρνύμενον·
　　ῥιπᾷ γὰρ ἴσος βορέα
ὃν κυβερνήταν φυλάσσων
　　ἵεται νεόκροτον
νίκαν ’Ιέρωνι φιλοξείνῳ τιτύσκων.

The idea of unlimited freedom implicit in the eagle's flight, his calm path through inviolate void, are first of all redefined into an explicit statement of poetic skill: "likewise I have before me ten thousand paths to sing everywhere your achievement," a metaphor that in turn leads up to the sense of motion in the vivid description in the succeeding lines of Hieron's actual victory.

In using this metaphor Bacchylides is to some extent relying on tradition: the association of roads and songs was inherent in Homer's language, and even in the fifth century Parmenides goes on a poetic journey to comprehend existence, and both Bacchylides and Pindar speak without explanation of song-chariots of the Muses.[15] Pindar, in fact, uses much of the same terminology that Bacchylides has here in

---

[15] On the "thousand paths of song" in Bacchylides and Pindar, see especially Otfrid Becker, "Das Bild des Weges," *Hermes Einzelschriften* 4 (1937) 76, for the view that it is a conventional phrase, as its use in Bacchylides' *Ode* 9.48 and *Dithyramb* 19.1 would suggest, and cf. also Wolfgang Schadewaldt, "Der Aufbau des pindarischen Epinikion," *Schriften der königsberger gelehrten Gesellschaft, Geisteswissen. Klasse* 5.3 (1928–1929) 281.

Ode 5 to introduce praise of the victor and his family in his *Fourth Isthmian Ode* (1–3):

> Ἔστι μοι θεῶν ἕκατι μυρία παντᾷ κέλευθος,
> ὦ Μέλισσ᾽, εὐμαχανίαν γὰρ ἔφανας Ἰσθμίοις,
> ὑμετέρας ἀρετὰς ὕμνῳ διώκειν.

So much of his language is close to Bacchylides that critics have accused one or the other poet of what amounts to plagiarism. But the "imitation" here, whichever poem came first or whatever common model each poet may be drawing on, can better be called creative adaptation, since the two passages display characteristic differences. Pindar, first of all, gives more credit to the gods: like Bacchylides he says "I have ten thousand paths everywhere," but he adds almost immediately "because of the gods" (Ἔστι μοι θεῶν ἕκατι μυρία παντᾷ κέλευθος), acknowledging only in second place the victor's role "for you showed great skill at Isthmia." Moreover, his "pursue with song" expresses a tension absent in Bacchylides' more explicit "sing," as if implying a potential futility, that he can never catch the virtues, that he is always keenly aware of his human limitations and constantly striving against them. But in Bacchylides the initial metaphor dominates, with human achievement consistently preceding acknowledgment of divine support, so that "your achievement" comes before "for Victory's and Ares' sake" and then "great children of Deinomenes" before "may god not tire doing good." This last phrase voices an inherent fatalism absent from *Isthmian* 4, where man's ability is more mutable than the gods' standards. Bacchylides' concern that the gods will "tire" recalls Hieron's "worries" and contrasts sharply with the sustained flight of the eagle and the poet's unlimited choice. The implication is that human endeavor is more consistent than divine favor, and this pessimistic distinction is borne out later in the ode. Bacchylides is, in fact, far more concerned with actualities than Pindar. He describes the victory in detail, but Pindar here and elsewhere in his ode speaks of a more abstract "great skill" and a similarly diffusive plurality of "achievements." Thus the two statements about the ten thousand paths of song, rather than providing evidence of a pejorative imitation, illustrate fundamental differences in the two poets' approaches. Pindar's method, like an inverted cone, works away from a starting point to larger and larger concepts, in this case to a final universality, "different winds at different times dart down and drive all humans." But Bacchylides' approach, more like a spiral of clearly set dimension, redefines and reworks the same theme in a

confined area, relating everything over and over again to Hieron and to the present victory.

There is, in fact, no clearer illustration of Bacchylides' reiterant technique than in this passage. In the introductory sentence alone, "sing" (ὑμνεῖν) echoes the expository "weave a web of song" (ὑφάνας ὕμνον) from the poem's invocation, and the new compounds "dark-haired" and "bronze-chested" seem chosen to recall the colors of preceding epithets, the "violet-crowned" Muses and "gold-banded" Urania. The phrase "great (ἀγέρωχοι) sons of Deinomenes" also has a familiar, though perhaps somewhat pessimistic epic ring, like Hieron's "worries" above, in that ἀγέρωχοι is a stock epithet of the Trojans in the *Iliad*, and Bacchylides' sentence concludes with the negative "may god not tire doing good."

In the next sentence, however, a more confident tone returns, as Bacchylides describes the actual scene of victory, in terms which suggest the image of the eagle so directly that many details of the eagle's appearance, which at first seemed purely decorative, now seem to have an essential significance. The first word, "yellow-maned" (ξανθότριχα), a new compound, brings to mind the "fine-haired coat" (i.e. "feathers finely drawn," λεπτότριχα) and yellow (ξουθός) wings of the eagle, while another new compound "broad-eddying" (εὐρυδίνας) seems designed to recall "horse-whirled" (ἱπποδίνητος) of the ode's initial lines.[16] These associations are swiftly confirmed in the central clause of this sentence: "gold-armed Dawn saw him victorious." The new epithet "gold-armed" instantly suggests the poet's guardian "Urania gold-banded," and like the Muse, Dawn keeps apart from human action. "Saw" (εἶδε) echoes the men watching the eagle's flight, "distinct for men to see" (ἰδεῖν). "Victorious" (νικάσαντα) recalls the acknowledgment to victory (Νίκη) a few lines before and exploits the meaning of the horse's auspicious name "Bring-victory" (Φερένικος) in a deliberate pun that recalls the studied reduplication "weave a web of song" (ὑφάνας ὕμνον) with its conscious echo later on "sing your achievement" (ὑμνεῖν).[17]

---

[16] The word ξουθός connotes blurring and could refer either to the varied tan-gray color of the eagle's feathers or to the indiscriminate whirring of his wings in flight, or both at once; see W. B. Stanford, *Greek Metaphor* (Oxford 1936) 54.

[17] In *Ode* 6 Bacchylides makes a pun on the victor's name: "Lachon has got (λάχε) from Zeus . . . highest glory" (103), and Pindar addresses Hieron as "named for holy sacrifices (ἱερῶν)" in a dance song (frag. 105S = 94B) written as companion piece to *Pythian* 2. The practice goes back to Homer, who associates Odysseus' name with ὀδύρομαι ("cause pain," 19.265) and ὀδύσσομαι ("hate," 19.407); see George Dimock, "The Names of Odysseus," in *Essays on the Odyssey*, ed. Charles H. Taylor (Bloomington, Indiana 1963) 72. On punning

The concluding line "in holy Pytho," which echoes a Homeric description of Apollo's shrine, Πυθοῖ ἐν ἠγαθέῃ (*Odyssey* 8.80) recalls Bacchylides' poetic journey in the proem "from the holy island."

The effect of this conscious recollection is to give the racehorse's triumph the significance of all that has preceded it in the poem, i.e. Hieron's standing as a ruler, Bacchylides' skill as a poet, the eagle's supremacy and confidence. But by compounding new words that recall rather than repeat earlier ideas, Bacchylides gives the victory a unique and more immediately contemporary character: dark-haired, bronze-chested, bright-maned, wide-whirling, wind-running, gold-armed, all suggest the importance of tradition without actually being traditional; they summon up epic themes, the interfering deities, the chariots of war, in a new, slightly arresting tonality that brings out tacit interrelationships and keeps the emphasis on human achievement.

In the next lines, Bacchylides again describes the victory, but this time in more literal terms: "I strike the earth and declare: never did dust from horses before defile him in the contest as he rushed to the finish." Again there is emphasis on *seeing* ("declare," πιφαύσκω from φαίνω), but the poet's path is more personal and immediate than the formal "Dawn saw" above, as if he were now dealing once more with a real world, with all its doubts and questioning. Pherenicus' separation from the other horses suggests the eagle's isolation from the other birds and Hieron's supremacy among other mortals, but "never did dust defile him in the contest," with its emphatic alliteration κατέχρανεν κόνις, meanwhile implies the presence of a danger that the eagle in the "inviolate void" of a more ideal world is able to escape. "Rushing to the goal" states in simple expository terms the eagle's transcendent "cuts the air and trusts in his firm strength." In short, there are no new words here and no special echoes from Homer: the outlines of previous action are preserved, not in terms that emphasize general significance or past glories, but instead straightforward realities of the present.

But in the final lines of the passage Bacchylides once again expresses himself in metaphorical terms and returns to Homeric language: "for like a rush of the north wind, guarding his helmsman, he speeds new-ringing victory, aiming at Hieron, kind host." Bacchylides has here

---

and paronomasia in general, see Stanford (above, n. 16) 115; J. C. Kamerbeek, *The Plays of Sophocles Part I: Ajax* (Leiden 1953) 95–96; William D. Woodhead, "Etymologizing in Greek Literature from Homer to Philo Judaeus" (diss. Chicago 1920; Toronto 1928); and Eugene S. McCartney, "Puns and Plays on Proper Names," *CJ* 14 (1918–1919) 343–358.

carefully reiterated the key themes of achievement: the movement in "rush" and "speeds" recalls the poet's sending of song and the eagle's confident "guiding himself" (νωμᾶται, cf. the middle "hurling himself," ἴεται here), and the simile "like a wave of the north wind" restates in traditional language the contemporary term "wind-runner" Bacchylides used in his first description of the racehorse. The emphasis on sound in the fresh compound "new-ringing" (νεόκροτον, where κροτέω suggests the clattering of horses' hooves) recalls Bacchylides' description of the eagle as messenger of Zeus "loud-thundering" surpassing the other "shrill-crying" birds.[18] Hieron is "kind host" (φιλόξεινος), immediately suggesting the poet's role as a "friend" (ξένος) wishing to praise Hieron "from his heart." "Victory" (νίκαν) reechoes the repeated Νίκας – Φερένικον – νικάσαντα rhymes of the preceding lines in a final assonance νεόκροτον νίκαν Ἱέρωνι τιτύσκων. These are the positive values of victory that Bacchylides has reasserted throughout the opening section of this ode.

At the same time, however, recollections from Homer, "like a wave of the north wind," the metaphor "guarding his helmsman," and the strange "speeds and aims" qualify the happy tone of these last lines with new implications of violence. The opening phrase, "like a rush of the north wind" recalls a standard epic simile about sudden force, e.g. "just as when from the clouds snow or hail flies cold under the rush of the north wind (ὑπὸ ῥιπῆς ... Βορέαο) born in the high air, so quickly swift Iris flew" (*Iliad* 15.170–172).[19] "Guarding his helmsman" brings to mind the danger implied in "dust defiles" above, with "guard" (φυλάσσων) more specifically suggesting the military terminology of the ode's introduction "general of Syracusans," while "helmsman" (κυβερνήταν) recalls the "inapproachable waves of the sea" so capably avoided by the eagle.[20] The concluding metaphor, "aim and shoot,"

[18] Jebb suggests that νεόκροτος can mean either "with fresh plaudits" (see Snell *ad loc.*) or "newly forged" (see also Smyth). But since Homer uses κροταλίζω to describe moving chariots (κρόταλον means "metal rattle" in *Hom. Hymn* 14.3 and 19.37) and Pindar speaks of a "stone horse-beaten (ἱππόκροτος) road" (*Pythian* 5.92–93), neither of these modern interpretations seems as likely as a simple reference to the pounding of shod hooves.

[19] On the north wind see also *Iliad* 9.4–8, its adaptation in Bacchylides' *Ode* 13.125ff, and Ibycus' description of love, like the north wind, shattering his heart (286LP = 6D). In *Ode* 5 Bacchylides, of course, has changed the epic form, using a noun, ῥιπή, to stand for the wholly verbal action of the Homeric comparison.

[20] By the fifth century κυβερνήτης ("helmsman") had already acquired a fairly generalized meaning, e.g. *re* the "ship of state" (Pindar *Pythian* 10.72, 5.122, 4.274), so that Bacchylides can use it without elaboration to describe the

again suggests a kind of violence: to be sure, the terminology of archery
traditionally suggests the poet's professional accuracy, but this particu-
lar phrase recollects a passage from Homer where accuracy is the pre-
lude to a bloodshed that brings still more suffering, namely Odysseus'
fateful contest with the suitors, where he "shot an arrow aiming op-
posite" (ἧκε δ' ὀϊστὸν ἄντα τιτυσκόμενος, echoed in Bacchylides' word
order ἵεται νίκαν Ἱέρωνι τιτύσκων).[21] Bacchylides seems to imply by this
careful choice of language that there is a hidden menace in the bright
fact of victory. The picture of Hieron beset by worries at the moment of
significant accomplishment, the hint that his song is a kind of lamenta-
tion, the eagle soaring above a host of potential dangers, all have led up
to this final qualification, of the horse rushing ahead of dust's contamina-
tion, hurling himself home like an arrow in a chilling blast of final
triumph.

In this long introduction Bacchylides has used every means at his
command, selective imitation of tradition, current poetic style, articu-
lated simile, condensed metaphor, verbal repetition, and simple ex-
pository language, to reiterate certain key themes. There is, first of all,
the individual isolation of Hieron, as apart from other men, of the famous
poet coming from distant Ceos, of the eagle's lonely flight, and of the
singular triumph of the horse Pherenicus. But while this isolation is
meant to connote achievement and supremacy, the fact that all these
individuals are in motion suggests an inherent transience, that things
were not and will not always be this way. There is a promise of future
encounter, not yet realized, in the movement of Hieron toward Bacchy-
lides and of Bacchylides toward Hieron in friendship, brought out again
in the horse's final rush to Hieron "kind to friends." For all the bright
colors and ringing sound of victory there is in this movement also an
inherent danger, never precisely interrelated, ambiguous as the arrow
of triumph which concludes the description of the victorious race.
Great achievement and significant encounter, with the dangers and
destruction that can result: in view of what we have seen so far of
Bacchylides' revolving technique, it should be no surprise to us that
these are the principal themes to be developed in the lines that follow,

---

conduct of the mind (*Odes* 12.1, 17.22). In *Isthmian* 4 Pindar describes the vic-
tor's trainer as a "rudder-wielding helmsman" (78), in what may be another
instance of imitation on his part or Bacchylides'; see above, on lines 31–33.

[21] "Aim and shoot" in the famous bow passage (*Odyssey* 21.420–421) is
presaged at the beginning of the book by Penelope's opening the doors of the
storeroom to get the bow; "she put in (ἧκε) the key, pushed up the bolts, aiming
opposite" (ἄντα τιτυσκομένη, 46–47). See also *Iliad* 13.558 and *Odyssey* 8.556.

in carefully selected reminiscences from Homer, and in the concrete action of the myth.

In the lines that come after Bacchylides' final ambiguous allusion to Hieron, there is a shift in tone that seems to mark a change of subject (50–55):

> ὄλβιος ᾧτινι θεὸς
> μοῖράν τε καλῶν ἔπορεν
> σύν τ' ἐπιζήλῳ τύχᾳ
> ἀφνεὸν βιοτὰν διάγειν· οὐ
> γάρ τις ἐπιχθονίων
> πάντα γ' εὐδαίμων ἔφυ.

The standard form of generalization "happy he whom," with its time-honored vocabulary "happy," "share," "enviable," "rich," and "blessed by god," seems strangely remote after the detailed motion, color, and personality of the introduction.[22] But simple adjacency alone suggests that this somber statement has bearing on the preceding lines, in the same way that the eagle simile is intimately connected with Bacchylides' poetic journey. Certainly to the Greek ear the very format of these lines would in itself be an indication of their purpose. In function, tone, and general import they recall an old epic didactic pattern immediately familiar from passages like Achilles' famous speech to Priam (*Iliad* 24.522–526):

> ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ κατ' ἄρ' ἕζευ ἐπὶ θρόνου, ἄλγεα δ' ἔμπης
> ἐν θυμῷ κατακεῖσθαι ἐάσομεν ἀχνύμενοί περ·
> οὐ γάρ τις πρῆξις πέλεται κρυεροῖο γόοιο.
> ὣς γὰρ ἐπεκλώσαντο θεοὶ δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσι,
> ζώειν ἀχνυμένοις· αὐτοὶ δέ τ' ἀκηδέες εἰσί.

Achilles begins with this generalization but then demonstrates what he means also in metaphorical terms, by describing Zeus's jars of good and evil, and again finally in terms of "history," the lives of his father Peleus and of Priam himself. The same reiterative pattern, general statement followed first by metaphorical explanation, then by a quasi-historical story, occurs throughout the *Iliad*, always with the same fatalistic import and significantly always in a speech directed to a specific

---

[22] For the form "happy he who," see Sappho 21LP = 16D; Alcman 1.37–39LP and D (which is not really "the *same* idea" as in this *Ode* 5 passage, as Snell suggests); Solon 13D = Theognis 1253–1254; Theognis 441–446 and 1161–1162; Bacchylides, frag. 11.2, 20B, 23, 54. On the pessimistic tone of the *Ode* 5 passage, see especially Wind (above, n. 2) 24.

individual.²³ The triple restatement helps both to prove the speaker's
point and make it memorable. In this same way Bacchylides' lines
"happy he who has a share . . . no mortal was ever in all ways blessed
by god" serve as an introduction to a myth and imply by their traditional
language and Homeric pessimism that they are intended as moral
advice to Hieron. This impression is strengthened by previous intima-
tions of mortality, namely the suggestion of danger in the horse race,
the hesitation in the prayer "may god not tire doing good," and particu-
larly in the ode's opening lines. There the picture of Hieron brooding on
his troubles seems directly to foreshadow the language of these more
abstract lines, where "share" and "fortunate" (μοῖρα, εὐδαίμων) echo in
their reduplication ("happy" – "share of good" – "fortunate") the
ode's initial "blessed" (εὔμοιρε), and where the phrase "any of mortals"
(τις ἐπιχθονίων) is repeated in the same metrical position verbatim from
line 5. Thus even in the standard patterning of formal gnomic utterance
Bacchylides restates a central theme and makes his victor and audience
alert to the relevance and meaning of the myth that follows.

Bacchylides' story begins vaguely, "they say that once upon a time,"
and proceeds slowly, setting the scene and filling in the background, so
that its direction does not immediately become clear (56–70):

> δῦναί ποτ᾽ ἐρειψιπύλαν
>   ἄνδρ᾽ ἀνίκατον λέγουσιν
> ἔρνος Διὸς ἀργικεραύ-
>   νου δώματα Φερσεφόνας τανισφύρου,
> καρχαρόδοντα κύν᾽ ἄ-
>   ξοντ᾽ ἐς φάος ἐξ Ἀΐδα,
> υἱὸν ἀπλάτοι᾽ Ἐχίδνας·
>   ἔνθα δυστάνων βροτῶν
> ψυχὰς ἐδάη παρὰ Κωκυτοῦ ῥεέθροις,
>   οἷά τε φύλλ᾽ ἄνεμος
> Ἴδας ἀνὰ μηλοβότους
>   πρῶνας ἀργηστὰς δονεῖ.
> ταῖσιν δὲ μετέπρεπεν εἴδω-
>   λον θρασυμέμνονος ἐγ-
>   χεσπάλου Πορθανίδα . . .

The indirect approach and leisurely pace seem modeled on the epic
manner, e.g. the passage cited above where Achilles begins "two jars lie

²³ Other instances of stories illustrating general points occur in *Iliad* 6.123–
143, 145–210; 9.496–605; 19.86–139, 24.601–620; see Snell (above, n. 13) 204–
208. The pattern is essentially retained in today's pattern of topic sentence
followed by specific illustrations.

on Zeus's threshold," or the scene in *Iliad* 9 where Phoenix advises Achilles that the heroes of old could change their minds and be forgiving: "I recall an old event, not new, as it occurred — I'll tell it to you, since you are all friends. The Curetes were fighting . . ." (527–529). By adhering to the Homeric didactic pattern Bacchylides indicates that even what seems at first to be merely decorative detail may ultimately have meaning, and at the same time he imparts to his story the sanction of tradition that his earlier use of sacred epithets brought to his introduction. The adjective "gate-smasher," for all the modishness of its compound construction, summons up the picture of the fearless Homeric Heracles fighting Hades at the "gate" to the lower world; the traditional epithets "white-lightning" and "slim-ankled," along with the formulaic "sharp-toothed dog" and the patronymic "[scion] of Zeus" help set an epic tone. The phrase "to bring back the dog" (κύν' ἄξοντ') is in fact a direct verbal echo from Heracles' speech to Odysseus in the lower world, "he (Eurystheus) once sent me here *to bring back the dog* (κύν' ἄξοντ'), and he told me than this I would have no mightier labor" (*Odyssey* 11.623–624).[24] Similarly, the genealogical denomination of Cerberus "son of Echidna" that concludes this opening clause, at first glance at least, seems designed to maintain an epic coloring.

But in the next sentence Bacchylides recasts Homeric language and scenery into dynamic new relationships, as setting for a story that Homer did not tell and that seems in fact to occur first in the dramatic poetry of the fifth century. This is the confrontation of Heracles and Meleager in the lower world, and the interrelating of their separate destinies. The first clear departure from epic characterization is that Heracles here *learns* the souls of miserable men, i.e. his own mortality. In this sense he seems more like Odysseus visiting the lower world in Book 11 than like the brutal archer of tradition. Bacchylides' un-Homeric combination of "miserable" (δύστανος, an adjective closely associated with the hero of the *Odyssey*) with "mortals" (βροτοί) helps set the new tone, while the simile that follows, of the leaves blown by the wind along Mt. Ida, suggests even more strongly the inevitability of death, since the phrase "like the leaves" (οἷά τε φύλλ') directly recalls

[24] New combinations like ἐρειψιπύλας were very fashionable in fifth-century poetry, e.g. Aeschylus' ἐρειψίτοιχος, of Eteocles and Polyneices in *Seven Against Thebes* 882. The advantage of these adjectives is that they condense into the shorter space of the lyric line a complete verbal action, in this case, e.g. Heracles' throwing Hades into agony at the gate in *Iliad* 5.397. The traditional epic phrase "to lead up the dog" occurs also in *Iliad* 8.368, and in *Homeric Hymn* 2.2 Persephone is Demeter's "slim-ankled daughter, whom Aidoneus seized."

73* .

the famous expression of mortality in the *Iliad*, "as is the leaves'
generation (οἵη περ φύλλων γενεή), so is that of mankind" (6.146ff).
Bacchylides' specific designation of the locale of his simile as "sheep-
nourishing hills of Ida" further brings to mind the scene of the *Iliad*
and the beginnings in the mountain's quiet pastures of the Trojan War's
destruction.[25] But perhaps the most striking resetting of Homeric
tradition occurs in the last sentence, where Bacchylides takes what
in Homer is an exclusive epithet of Heracles, "bravehearted"
(θρασυμέμνων), and uses it, along with a more generalized heroic
epithet "spear-wielding," to describe not Heracles but the awesome
figure of the hero Meleager. Does the switch imply that Heracles is
meant to see in Meleager some resemblance to himself?

In fact, the very idea of the heroes' confrontation seems increasingly
relevant, in view of earlier encounters and journeys, if not down, at
least across distances ordinarily untraversable, i.e. Hieron's looking
with his mind toward Bacchylides' sending of song from Ceos, the
eagle's flight, and the horse's final aiming of victory at Hieron. There is
an implied association of Heracles and Hieron in the adjective "un-
conquered" (ἀνίκατος) which brings to mind the resounding Νίκας,
Φερένικον, νικάσαντα, νίκαν, of the last section of the introduction. But
Heracles "unconquered [scion] of Zeus" also seems like the eagle in
potential, capturing the son of "unapproachable Echidna," much as
"the messenger of Zeus" overcomes "inaccessible" waves of a "tire-
less" sea. In the same way the whirling wind on Ida suggests in its
generality at once the whirling horses of the Syracusans, the wind carry-
ing the eagle above the high cliffs of the earth, and the more sinister

----

[25] Townsend (above, n. 2) suggests that Bacchylides' simile also derives in
part from Homer's comparison of Euphorbus to a beautiful sapling, "which
breezes of all winds whirl through, and it swells with white blossoms," only to
be felled by a sudden sharp wind (*Iliad* 17.55–58), but she treats Bacchylides'
adaptation only as an "impressionistic sketch." On its function as an integral
part of the ode, see also Wind (above, n. 2) 27–28, who notes a contrast in these
lines between scenes of life (e.g. the "bright, sheep-nourishing hills") and death.
Jebb's translation of these lines (followed by Fagles; above, n. 2) weakens the
force of Bacchylides' simile: "countless as leaves quivering in the wind, where
flocks graze on the gleaming headlands of Ida." His additions "countless" and
"quivering" and his notes *ad loc.* indicate that he had in mind Virgil's comparison
of dead souls to leaves (*quam multa in siluis autumni frigore primo / lapsa cadunt
folia, Aeneid* 6.309–310) and its English imitation by Christopher Marlowe
("in number more than are the quivering leaves / Of Ida's forest," *Tamburlaine*,
Pt. 2, III v 5–6), not the *Iliad* 6 passage (he cites only *Iliad* 2.467–468) or the
text of Bacchylides. His translation of ζαθέας in line 10 as "lovely" similarly
attenuates Bacchylides' meaning.

swiftness of the racehorse running like a blast of the north wind. The description of Meleager "standing out among other souls" has a corresponding ambivalence of association: in a sense he too is like Hieron, separated from other men, like the eagle surpassing other birds, "recognizable for men to see," and also like Pherenicus untouched by horses running before him. Bacchylides leaves these implications unresolved for the time being, but their very existence gives the myth an inherent relevance that can be made more explicit in later lines.

In a scene at once reminiscent of the Trojan battlefield and Odysseus' visit to the world of the dead, Bacchylides now brings the two heroes into conversation (71–92):

> τὸν δ' ὡς ἴδεν Ἀλκμήνιος θαυμαστὸς ἥρως
>   τεύχεσι λαμπόμενον,
> νευρὰν ἐπέβασε λιγυκλαγγῆ κορώνας,
>   χαλκεόκρανον δ' ἔπειτ' ἐξ
> εἵλετο ἰὸν ἀναπτύ-
>   ξας φαρέτρας πῶμα· τῷ δ' ἐναντία
> ψυχὰ προφάνη Μελεάγρου,
>   καί νιν εὖ εἰδὼς προσεῖπεν·
> "υἱὲ Διὸς μεγάλου,
>   στᾶθί τ' ἐν χώρᾳ, γελανώσας τε θυμὸν
> μὴ ταΰσιον προΐει
>   τραχὺν ἐκ χειρῶν ὀϊστὸν
> ψυχαῖσιν ἔπι φθιμένων·
>   οὔ τοι δέος." ὣς φάτο· θάμβησεν δ' ἄναξ
> Ἀμφιτρυωνιάδας,
>   εἶπέν τε· "τίς ἀθανάτων
> ἢ βροτῶν τοιοῦτον ἔρνος
>   θρέψεν ἐν ποίᾳ χθονί;
> τίς δ' ἔκτανεν; ἦ τάχα καλλίζωνος Ἥρα
>   κεῖνον ἐφ' ἁμετέρᾳ
> πέμψει κεφαλᾷ· τὰ δέ που
>   Παλλάδι ξανθᾷ μέλει."

Again the formal phrases "son of Alcmena," following immediately upon "grandson of Porthaon" in the preceding line, "soul of Meleager," "son of great Zeus," "son of Amphitryon," along with the careful detailing of action, Heracles' stringing his bow, Meleager's soul approaching, the reiterated "so he spoke," "he said," seem intended to maintain an epic tone. But increasingly Bacchylides seems to be shifting traditional values in his Homeric recollections, stressing Heracles' role as visitor and learner, and, in the case of Meleager, depicting not so

much the physical strength for which he is known in epic, as a maturity
that comes from suffering and understanding. His first departure from
Homeric convention is in his selection of "Alcmenian hero" to suggest
Heracles' mortal ancestry.[26] The term "wondrous" (θαυμαστός)
echoes in an unspecified and static way the Homeric usage of the verb
θαυμάζειν to connote significant individuals and events, e.g. when
Achilles and Priam first set eyes on one another (*Iliad* 24.629–631) or
when Nausicaa sees Odysseus coming to the banquet (*Odyssey* 8.429).
The phrase "shining in his weapons" (τεύχεσι λαμπόμενον) has distinct
reference to one particular hero, Achilles, at his most sinister, e.g. in
Iliad 20 when the fearful Trojans see him returning to battle described
in this same formula, τεύχεσι λαμπόμενον (46), or when Hector trembles
at Achilles advancing in their final, fatal encounter, "and his armor
shone about him" (22.134).[27] Heracles' reaction to the shining figure,
like the Trojans', is anything but reasoned, and the extent of his fear is
illustrated by still another Homeric reminiscence, this time from the
passage in *Iliad* 4 where the Trojan Pandarus prepares to shoot the ill-
advised arrow that prevents the equitable settlement of the war by single
combat and leads to the whole series of new deaths that are the subject of
the remainder of the epic. Here Bacchylides copies closely only the first
part of Homer's description, that is, where Pandarus "rips back the
cover of his quiver and chooses out an arrow"(σύλα πῶμα φαρέτρης,
ἐκ δ' ἕλετ' ἰόν, 116), since his Heracles never actually shoots. But he
retains much of the force of the Trojan's fateful shot "the bow cried out
(λίγξε βιός) and the string screamed loudly, as the arrow leaped forth"
(125) in two new adjectives "shrill-ringing" (λιγυκλαγγής, which brings

---

[26] On the gradual negation in this passage of Heracles' heroism, see Wind
(above, n. 2) 28–29. The phrase "son of Alcmena" originates in epic, e.g.
Theogony 526, where it calls attention to Heracles' mortal birth and his servitude
to Eurystheus. Pindar uses it in the curious passage in *Isthmian* 4 where he
describes Heracles as a small man (61ff, perhaps another illustration of mutual
influence and imitation; see n. 20). In the context of this ode reference to Hera-
cles' mother has special significance. It is interesting to note that even Cerberus
is designated as "son of Echidna" in line 62, a phrase which has no counterpart
in the epic tradition, but significantly is used later by Sophocles in the *Women of
Trachis*, where Heracles, writhing in agony from the gift sent by his wife Deia-
neira, describes the great achievements of his life (1099).

[27] For the phrase "shining in his armor," see also *Iliad* 17.214, where Hector
takes Achilles' armor from the dead Patroclus, and, having put it on, "he
seemed to all of them, τεύχεσι λαμπόμενος, like the most powerful son of Peleus."
Cf. also its use to describe the two armies fighting on Achilles' new shield in
Iliad 18.510 in indirect reference to the actual world and action of the surrounding
books.

to mind the weak cries of the other λιγύφθογγοι birds in the eagle
simile), and "bronze-tipped" (χαλκεόκρανον), which, like "wondrous"
above, convey in a generalized and static form the sense of the epic's
more vivid verbal action.[28] These new associations with fear and ulti-
mate defeat put Bacchylides' initial description of a more heroic
Heracles ("gate-smasher," "son of Zeus," "to lead up the dog") in an
unpleasant perspective, pointing up weaknesses, hinting at potential
disaster that his unthinking bravado might someday bring on, while
from the same lines Meleager takes on enough of Achilles' remoteness
and superiority to make Heracles' futile reaction seem natural and
justifiable.

The contrast is developed further in the next few lines, in another
recollection from Homer, this time from the *Odyssey*, where Bacchy-
lides' distinct references to Meleager's approach, recognition of Heracles,
use of the patronymic title "son of great Zeus," and specific request
for restraint, all seem intended to recall Odysseus' confrontation with
Teiresias at the edge of the world of the dead (11.90–96):

> Ἦλθε δ' ἐπὶ ψυχὴ Θηβαίου Τειρεσίαο,
> χρύσεον σκῆπτρον ἔχων, ἐμὲ δ' ἔγνω καὶ προσέειπε·
> "[Διογενὲς Λαερτιάδη, πολυμήχαν' Ὀδυσσεῦ,]
> τίπτ' αὖτ', ὦ δύστηνε, λιπὼν φάος ἠελίοιο
> ἤλυθες, ὄφρα ἴδῃ νέκυας καὶ ἀτερπέα χῶρον;
> ἀλλ' ἀποχάζεο βόθρου, ἄπισχε δὲ φάσγανον ὀξύ,
> αἵματος ὄφρα πίω καί τοι νημερτέα εἴπω."

Direct association with Teiresias makes Meleager seem even more
awesome and remote and gives him a new prophetic stature. Bacchylides
makes his presence here seem even more supernatural than in Homer,
by substituting for the straightforward "came upon me" the vaguer
"appeared before" (προφάνη), a word that in Homer specifically con-
notes sudden significant revelation. Further adaptations in the language
of Teiresias' speech delineate both heroes' characters still more closely.
By replacing the Theban prophet's practical directives "stand back . . .
so I can tell you" with repeated assurance and explanation "calm your

---

[28] On Bacchylides' imitation of the Pandarus passage, Jebb notes: "the poet
had not very closely observed his epic model." More indirectly Bacchylides'
description recalls Odysseus' first glimpse of the hunter Heracles in the lower
world. The elaborate procedure of bow-stringing and the tone of Meleager's
commands make Heracles seem more helpless and inept than Aeneas suddenly
drawing his sword, *trepidus formidine*, at the lifeless shades in *Aeneid* 6.290–295.

heart, do not shoot forth a vain harsh arrow at souls of the dead; there is no need to fear," Bacchylides suggests that Heracles is something less than perceptive. "Vain" (ταῦσιος) implies wasted, even immoral, effort, while the new word "calm" and the unusual use of "harsh" to describe an arrow emphasize the violence of Heracles' emotions. At the same time careful patterns of alliteration within the separate clauses of Meleager's speech στᾶθι . . . θυμόν, τραχὺν . . . ὀϊστὸν . . . ταῦσιον and ψυχαῖσιν ἔπι φθιμένων, together with the direct quotation "there is no need to fear" (οὔ τοι δέος), the Homeric formula of reassurance by authority, help establish Meleager as a hero of very different stature, controlled and unaffected by ordinary concerns.[29] In this sense Meleager seems again like Achilles, while Heracles by contrast remains the brutal archer Dione describes to Aphrodite, "stubborn fool, worker of violence, who didn't care if he committed injustice" (*Iliad* 5.403), a conventional hero like Odysseus at the beginning of his long journey home, a strong man intent on sacking cities and fighting monsters, unaware of the great losses and suffering to come.[30]

These implications are confirmed in Heracles' answer to Meleager; again the patronymic "the lord, son of Amphitryon" suggests Heracles' mortality, and "was amazed" (θάμβησεν) carries with it from the *Iliad* associations with awe, of recognition in an individual event of some general concept, a manifestation of divine power or of human weakness. Once more compare the meeting of Achilles and Priam in Book 24, where the word occurs three times in three lines (24.480–484):

ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἂν ἄνδρ' ἄτη πυκινὴ λάβῃ, ὅς τ' ἐνὶ πάτρῃ
φῶτα κατακτείνας ἄλλων ἐξίκετο δῆμον,
ἀνδρὸς ἐς ἀφνειοῦ, θάμβος δ' ἔχει εἰσορόωντας,
ὡς Ἀχιλεὺς θάμβησεν ἰδὼν Πρίαμον θεοειδέα·
θάμβησαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι, ἐς ἀλλήλους δὲ ἴδοντο.

What is significant about Priam here is not only the fact of his arrival, but the presence of ἄτη around him.[31] This is how the appearance of Meleager strikes Heracles, who sees in the fact of Meleager's death the

---

[29] Like Teiresias in the *Odyssey*, Meleager first gives directions, then answers his visitors' questions in a longer speech. For "there is no need to fear" as reassurance, see *Odyssey* 5.347, 8.564; but in the *Iliad*, as in this passage, the phrase has a sardonic twist (1.515 and 12.246).

[30] On Achilles' heroism, see Whitman (above, n. 1) chap. 9, and pp. 298–299 on Odysseus.

[31] θαμβέω is used to describe the sudden recognition of a god by a mortal in *Iliad* 1.199, 3.398, and 8.77.

possibility of his own: "who killed you? for soon Hera will send him after my head." Bacchylides already suggested this interrelationship above by using Heracles' epithet "bravehearted" to describe Meleager, and he brings the association out again at the end of this speech by retaining in Heracles' casual dismissal "these things somehow are bright Pallas' concern" something of the tone of Achilles' famous statements to Thetis and to Hector: "I shall receive my fate whenever Zeus wants to bring it about or the other immortals" (*Iliad* 18.115–116, 22.365–366).[32] But here again, while suggesting through Homeric reminiscence a critical relationship between the two heroes, Bacchylides' adaptation of epic patterns meanwhile illustrates key differences between them, further establishing Heracles in this context as a blunt man of action. The metaphor "who raised up this tree" suggests the simile that Thetis used twice to describe Achilles, "and he shot up like a tree," and that Odysseus elaborates into a story to express his admiration for Nausicaa. But in Heracles' mouth the leisurely description, the graceful explanation "grew like" are gone, and he also has compressed the old dactylic series "who are you among men, who were your father and mother?" into a choppy asyndeton "who in what land who killed you?"[33] His description of Hera as "fair-girdled" ($\kappa\alpha\lambda\lambda\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega\nu\sigma$) strikes the ear even more strangely, since in Homer this epithet is used only of mortal women. His Pallas is "bright, fair-haired" ($\xi\alpha\nu\theta\hat{\alpha}$) like Menelaus and other men and animals, whereas in Homer she keeps her cult title "bright-eyes" ($\gamma\lambda\alpha\upsilon\kappa\hat{\omega}\psi$). The color $\xi\alpha\nu\theta\acute{\sigma}\varsigma$ here brings to mind the bright mane ($\xi\alpha\nu\theta\acute{\sigma}\tau\rho\iota\chi\alpha$) of the horse Pherenicus, and the eagle's bright wings ($\xi\sigma\upsilon\theta\acute{\sigma}\varsigma$) from the first part of the poem. Together these transformations convey an impression of confidence: Hera has lost some of her power, Pallas is linked with men's glorious achievements; she will take care of Heracles "somehow." There is something poignant in Heracles' faith in Athena, in his impression that he can foresee Hera's next action and learn what he needs to know from Meleager by direct questioning. At least something in what he says suddenly affects the

---

[32] The association of Achilles and Heracles goes back to Homer, e.g. this same passage in *Iliad* 18, where Achilles cites Heracles as an example of the inevitability of death: "not even strong Heracles escaped his doom, who was dear to lord Zeus son of Cronus, but fate brought him down and the hard hand of Hera" (117–119).

[33] For the comparison in similes of person to trees, see *Iliad* 18.56, 437, *Odyssey* 6.163, and also *Iliad* 17.53 and *Odyssey* 14.175. By the fifth century, $\check{\epsilon}\rho\nu\sigma\varsigma$, like $\kappa\upsilon\beta\epsilon\rho\nu\acute{\eta}\tau\eta\varsigma$ (n. 20), could be used as a simple metaphor, e.g. once again in *Isthmian* 4.48–49 and also *Nemean* 6.37.

implacable, austere Meleager, who now loses his Teiresian objectivity,
no longer gives directions, but answers weeping instead (93–121):

> τὸν δὲ προσέφα Μελέαγρος
>   δακρυόεις· "χαλεπὸν
> θεῶν παρατρέψαι νόον
>   ἄνδρεσσιν ἐπιχθονίοις.
> καὶ γὰρ ἂν πλάξιππος Οἰνεὺς
>   παῦσεν καλυκοστεφάνου
> σεμνᾶς χόλον Ἀρτέμιδος λευκωλένου
>   λισσόμενος πολέων
> τ' αἰγῶν θυσίαισι πατὴρ
>   καὶ βοῶν φοινικονώτων·
> ἀλλ' ἀνίκατον θεὰ
>   ἔσχεν χόλον· εὐρυβίαν δ' ἔσσευε κούρα
> κάπρον ἀναιδομάχαν
>   ἐς καλλίχορον Καλυδῶ-
> ν', ἔνθα πλημύρων σθένει
>   ὄρχους ἐπέκειρεν ὀδόντι,
> σφάζε τε μῆλα, βροτῶν
>   θ' ὅστις εἰσάνταν μόλοι.
> τῷ δὲ στυγερὰν δῆριν Ἑλλάνων ἄριστοι
>   στασάμεθ' ἐνδυκέως
> ἒξ ἄματα συνεχέως· ἐπεὶ δὲ δαίμων
>   κάρτος Αἰτωλοῖς ὄρεξεν,
> θάπτομεν οὓς κατέπεφνεν
>   σῦς ἐριβρύχας ἐπαΐσσων βίᾳ,
> Ἀγκαῖον ἐμῶν τ' Ἀγέλαον
>   φέρτατον κεδνῶν ἀδελφεῶν,
> οὓς τέκεν ἐν μεγάροις
>   .....ς Ἀλθαία περικλειτοῖσιν Οἰνέος·
> ..... ὤλεσε μοῖρ' ὀλοὰ

Meleager's opening statement seems at first to be directed at Heracles,
at his professed understanding of Hera's ways, at his confidence in
Athena. But its very generality suggests that it has application beyond
Heracles. Meleager's previous association with the prophet Teiresias
and his similarity to the prescient Achilles of the last quarter of the
Iliad imply that he has knowledge that will be specially relevant. In
fact the tone of his words, "it is hard for men to turn god's will aside,"
seems intended to bring to mind the negative pronouncement that intro-
duced the larger story in which this speech is set, "no mortal was ever
in all ways fortunate" (53–55), especially since the same word for

"mortal" (ἐπιχθόνιος) occurs in a similar metrical position in both contexts, and Meleager, like the poet, following the Homeric pattern, exemplifies his general statement with a myth. The implication is, of course, that Meleager's story has reference also to Hieron and to ourselves. He seems to be denying with this myth, the story of his own life, that there is the kind of order in existence that Heracles sees, that there is a meaning to discern in the clear patterning of the ode's introduction. Like Heracles, we have been concerned with present problems and achievements, but Meleager looks both to the future and backward into a long past. One force after another, he points out, beyond his control, acts to destroy him, and, like the power that Heracles acknowledges, namely the goddess Hera, Meleager's antagonists are feminine forces, Artemis, "destructive fate," and most poignantly, his mother.

He depicts an irrational world in the very first lines of his tale: "for then horse-smiting Oeneus might have stopped the anger of bud-crowned holy Artemis white-armed, my father, appeasing her with sacrifices of many goats and red-backed cattle" (97–102). There is a suggestion here of heroic tradition in the epithet "horse-smiting," but suddenly little else seems to be derived from the deliberately Homeric world of the lines preceding. Oeneus' actions in this ode appear particularly pitiful because Meleager never mentions the reason for Artemis' anger. In the *Iliad*, where Phoenix tells Achilles the story of the boar to prove a very different point, that even the gods forgive, Oeneus at least has made the clear mistake of neglecting Artemis' worship, and the world is reasonable in that the responsibility for all destruction caused falls directly on the human beings involved in the story. But in Bacchylides' version Phoenix' conclusions are denied: "it is hard for man to turn aside" (χαλεπὸν παρατρέψαι νόον) bitterly echoes the Homeric "the gods themselves can be turned by prayer" (στρεπτοὶ δέ τε καὶ θεοὶ αὐτοί); even extensive sacrifices (unnumbered goats and cattle) cannot move Artemis. Along with this the traditional values confirmed earlier in the ode seem to be reversed: Artemis in her anger is "bud-crowned" (καλυκοστέφανος), a new adjective that suggests the "violet-crowned" (ἰοστέφανοι) Muses of line 3; but here the flowers first associated with the protective and productive aspects of femininity are worn by a goddess in the act of destruction. Similarly the red backs of the cattle slaughtered in vain recall the brightness of Pallas, Pherenicus, and the eagle that seemed to signify success. What this promises for Heracles is hinted at in Bacchylides' careful use of the epithet "white-armed" (λευκώλενος) to describe Artemis: Homer applies it to only one goddess

in the *Iliad*, and that is Hera. Again the destinies of the two heroes are indirectly linked.[34]

Meleager's description of the boar keeps us in this unheroic framework. Earlier values continue to be distorted: the word "unconquered" (ἀνίκατος), which seemed so positive before as the designation of Heracles "gate-smasher hero unconquered," with its fresh connotations of Olympian victory, now describes Artemis' anger. "The maiden shook a boar" is a cruel inversion of the language of an epic hunt, where men "shake" dogs upon a lion, and the title "maiden," like "bud-crowned" above, ironically brings to mind the more peaceful aspects of the goddess, flower-gathering and dancing with the nymphs in the mountains, before going up to heaven. As for the boar, the epic compound "wide-violent" (εὐρυβίας) recalls Zeus "wide-ruling" from the eagle simile, but with new emphasis on destructive violence. The new "shameless in battle" gives the boar's action a tone of immorality, of violation of human standards of conduct already hinted at in the impulsive Heracles' "vain" (ταύσιος) arrow. Further violence is implied in the fact that the attack is directed at Calydon "fair-dancing," a Homeric adjective ordinarily used to suggest the ordered rituals of peace.[35]

But the change of tone becomes even more pronounced in the next line, where the phrase "with the strength of waves" brings with it the negative connotations of Heracles' anger, Pherenicus' guarding his helmsman, the eagle's ideal flight above the real "inapproachable waves of the tireless salt sea." In fact, Bacchylides' metaphorical use of

[34] Even in Homer stock epithets have an inherent relevance to the total context of myth, even when they seem dramatically inappropriate; see Notopoulos, "Studies in Early Greek Poetry" (above, n. 1) 64–65, and William Whallon, "The Homeric Epithets," *YCS* 17 (1961) 97–142. On the new implications of the traditional terminology in *Ode* 5.98–102, see also Wind (above, n. 2) 32–34, but cf. Kirkwood (above, n. 2) who states that καλυκοστέφανος has "no special applicability." On the significance of color adjectives in the ode see also Stern (above, n. 2) 42. φοινικόνωτος has a literal accuracy as well: Proteus promises redhaired cattle to Artemis in *Ode* 11.104, and a red herd of Thracian cattle is sacrificed to Poseidon in Pindar *Pythian* 4.205 (cf. the more ordinary "yellow" herd in 149); as Stern (above, n. 2) notes in his article on *Ode* 11, "by insisting on the literal, even etymological meaning of these individual terms . . . Bacchylides refurbishes the old epithets and frames them into a new and consistent verbal pattern."

[35] Aeschylus' picture of Artemis in *Agamemnon* 135–155 is equally sinister. The epithet "fair-dancing" may be used with a similarly ironic effect in *Odyssey* 11.580, where Tityos drags off Hera as she was going to Pytho via "fair-dancing Panopeus."

"floods" (πλημύρων) and his abstract phrasing "with the strength of" in place of the more specific detailing of a simile have a contemporary character closely reminiscent of Attic tragedy, where the sea is the persistent image of the irrational and uncontrollable forces that inevitably overcome men's lives and works.[36] Meleager's recasting of the traditional story makes the failure of heroic values explicit: where in *Iliad* 9 Phoenix details the damage the boar does to trees and vineyards, Meleager here generalizes the destruction, mentioning only "fruit trees" but adding "he slaughtered sheep" and most significantly all human adversaries, "whoever came against him." Phoenix, in his version, while recognizing the need for joint action, gives the ultimate credit to Meleager for killing the boar and organizing the whole expedition ("the son of Oeneus, Meleager killed him, collecting hunters, from many cities, and dogs," *Iliad* 9.542ff). But in Bacchylides' ode no individual is distinguished, and the "noblest Greeks" resort to the kind of group effort that would bring little κῦδος in Homer's world of individual achievement. They "set up a battle" in epic terminology, but they fight "carefully" (ἐνδυκέως), a word Homer never uses in connection with battle, but only with loving, cherishing, protecting, caring, the sort of fighting that might have appealed more to Archilochus than to Achilles.[37] But even *en masse* men's strength is limited. Meleager observes with emphatic alliteration that the fight lasted six days straight (τῷ δὲ στυγερὰν δῆριν Ἑλλάνων ἄριστοι στασάμεθ' ἐνδυκέως ἓξ ἄματα συνεχέως), rhyming the negative "carefully" (ἐνδυκέως) in his slow, strange adverbial conclusion "continuously" (συνεχέως). Even more significant is that in the end he attributes victory not to the human beings involved but to an externalized fate: "god gave the Aetolians power" (δαίμων κάρτος ὄρεξεν), pointedly retaining the traditional

[36] In the *Persians*, four years after *Ode* 5, Aeschylus uses the metaphor "wave of evils" (599–600) with ironic reference to the destruction at Salamis, and the sea becomes a dominant, though less literal, image in his later dramas, e.g. *Seven Against Thebes* 758–765 and cf. *Antigone* 586–592.

[37] On the meaning of ἐνδυκέως, see, for example, *Odyssey* 7.256 and Pindar *Pythian* 5.85, and also H. Frisk, ed., *Griechisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* 6 (1957) 512, who relates -δυκέως to γλυκύς (cf. ἀδευκέϊ, "bitter" death, in *Odyssey* 4.489). Jebb's translation "strenuously" (adopted by *LSJ*) seems unjustified, his citation of "Hesiod" *Shield* 427 notwithstanding. There Heracles, guarding the body of Cycnus, whom he has dispatched with one quick thrust of his spear, is compared to a λέων guarding his dead prey and ἐνδυκέως splitting its skin to draw out its heart with all possible speed. The simile seems intended to suggest accuracy as well as brutality, so that "carefully" seems as good a translation as Evelyn-White's "full eagerly" (Loeb Classical Library 1914).

formula "god gave" used in Homer as a disclaimer of responsibility.[38] Human initiative seems reserved only for futile action, hopelessly praying and sacrificing, uselessly opposing, cautiously fighting, or, finally and abortively, disposing of the dead: "we buried the men the boar killed, roaring, rushing in violence, Ancaeus and great Agelaus, my own dear brothers whom . . . Althaea bore in the famous halls of Oeneus . . . deadly fate destroyed them." Meleager makes brief and poignant reference in these lines to family ties, his dear brothers and both parents, and in "very famous" (περικλειτός, a cognate of the epic περικλυτός), to the dying glory of his father's house. But this reference to humanity is sandwiched between detailed description of the extra-human forces of destruction, first the boar, portrayed with emphatic alliteration "rushing, roaring in violence" (ἐριβρύχας ἐπαΐσσων βίᾳ) that recalls the epithet "wide-violent" and then simultaneously "dread fate," where again repeated sound patterns (ὤλεσε μοῖρ' ὀλοά) direct our attention from the victims to the divine agency of death. In view of Artemis' role, and what Heracles fears about Hera, it is not without significance that this fatal power is clearly represented as feminine. In fact, the language of these concluding lines brings to mind the victorious world of the introduction: the "very famous halls" of Oeneus suggest "famous" Syracuse and the "famous" servant of the Muses; the reiterated noise and attacking motion of the boar recall the insistent running, rushing, ringing hooves, and aiming of the racehorse; and finally the term μοῖρα echoes the happier fate of Hieron (51, μοῖράν τε καλῶν, and the ode's frontispiece εὔμοιρε). Bacchylides' reiterative technique never lets us lose sight of the relevance of Meleager's story.

The story now moves into a new, yet strangely similar, phase. The victory over the boar becomes the start of a new war, this time over the boar's hide (122–135):

> . . . . . . ς· οὐ γάρ πω δαΐφρων
> παῦσεν χόλον ἀγροτέρα
>   Λατοῦς θυγάτηρ· περὶ δ' αἴθωνος δορᾶς
> μαρνάμεθ' ἐνδυκέως
>   Κουρῆσι μενεπτολέμοις·
> ἔνθ' ἐγὼ πολλοῖς σὺν ἄλλοις
>   Ἴφικλον κατέκτανον
> ἐσθλόν τ' Ἀφάρητα, θοοὺς μάτρωας· οὐ γὰρ

---

[38] For the formula, "god gave," see e.g. *Iliad* 22.406 and E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley 1951) 10–12, on the use of divinity in Homer to explain the otherwise inexplicable.

καρτερόθυμος Ἄρης
κρίνει φίλον ἐν πολέμῳ,
τυφλὰ δ' ἐκ χειρῶν βέλη
ψυχαῖς ἔπι δυσμενέων φοι-
τᾷ θάνατόν τε φέρει
τοῖσιν ἂν δαίμων θέλῃ.

Once again the failure of traditional heroism is brought out in the per-
version of Homeric language and situation: Artemis and Ares, like
"fair-girdled" Hera above, are both described with epithets used by
Homer exclusively for human beings, "sharp-minded" and "strong-
hearted," as if implying that the gods in Meleager's world have re-
assumed all the positive qualities of humanity, leaving men only their
mortality. "Fought cautiously" echoes the manifestly unheroic "stood
cautiously" of the battle against the boar, again without individuation,
only the general "we." Even the traditional "steadfast in battle" now
modifies a whole nation, whereas in Homer it was used only of indi-
viduals; moreover, in this context of Archilochean caution, "steady-"
(μενε-) seems less expressive of courage than of the long duration of the
war. The only person who gets special mention is Meleager, and that
is only because of the deadly consequences of his actions; and here
again Bacchylides changes tradition to emphasize human weakness:
where in other versions of the story Meleager deliberately kills his uncles,
his action in this ode is undiscriminating and almost prosaically vague,
"among many others." [39] Ironically, the uncles are "swift, dashing"
(θοούς), like the first fighters of the *Iliad* (and Ares himself), but now
only at the moment of their death, like Meleager's brother, "mighty
Agelaus whom the boar killed."

In fact, this phase of the story is, if anything, more negative in its
implications than the account of the great battle against the boar. There
at least the forces of evil and disorder were somehow overcome; but
in this second battle over the hide Meleager offers us no such comfort,
only a growing sense of aimlessness and uncertainty, of victory that
cannot be distinguished from defeat. He emphasizes more than ever
the futility of human action. The only motivation that counts is god's,
first Artemis', here called by her cult title "huntress" to suggest the
beginning of the story, where she "shook a boar wide-violent into
Calydon," in an inverted chase where the hunters seem to be the hunted.

---

[39] According to Apollodorus 1.8.3, the uncles demanded the boar's hide back
when Meleager tried to give it to Atalanta, and Meleager killed them in a fit of
rage.

Then there is the direction of an inhuman Ares, who ignores the ordi-
nary claims of friendship and family (cf. Meleager's brothers destroyed
by "dread fate" above), and the echo in the closing phrase "to whom
the god (δαίμων) wishes" of the fortuitous "when the god gave strength
to the Aetolians" in the first phase of the conflict. Nonvolition is further
suggested in the impersonal structuring of the sentence "weapons fly
from the hands and bring death," with its cohesive alliteration (φοιτᾷ
θάνατόν τε φέρει τοῖσιν ἂν δαίμων θέλῃ), and the hopelessness of the
human condition is summed up in the metaphor "blind weapons,"
which, like the sea, represents in Attic tragedy the workings of the
irrational.[40] In view of what we have already seen of Bacchylides' inter-
relating of key themes by reminiscence and repetition, it is significant
that the sense of illusion and the description of flying weapons in this
last sentence bring to mind Heracles' determined gripping of his bow
and the intended flight of his arrow toward a target that he does not
remember is not only insubstantial but already dead enough. The
phrase "souls of the enemy" (ψυχαῖς ἔπι δυσμενέων) in fact seems directly
to echo Meleager's prohibition in the earlier passage "don't shoot forth
a vain harsh arrow against souls of the dead" (ψυχαῖσιν ἔπι φθιμένων).
The incompleteness and indirection also bring to mind the racehorse
who "shoots and aims new-ringing victory at Hieron," and in the back-
ground there is the blazing yellow-red skin of the boar, which in its
reference both to color and to surface recalls the tawny wings of the
eagle and the bright hair of Pherenicus.

But what Meleager has said so far about man's inability to control
and understand has only been a prelude to his description of his own
death. In this phase of the narrative, all previous intimations about
man's helplessness and the perverse nature of his existence are swiftly
realized (136–154):

> ταῦτ' οὐκ ἐπιλεξαμένα
>   Θεστίου κούρα δαΐφρων
> μάτηρ κακόποτμος ἐμοὶ
>   βούλευσεν ὄλεθρον ἀτάρβακτος γυνά,
> καῖέ τε δαιδαλέας
>   ἐκ λάρνακος ὠκύμορον

---

[40] For blindness as an image of the irrational, see Aeschylus *Prometheus* 252
("blind hopes"), Pindar *Nemean* 7.22–23 (*re* cleverness beguiling most men's
"blind hearts"); and, of course, Sophocles *Oedipus Tyrannus*, e.g. 371, 389, and
blind ἄτη in *Women of Trachis* 1104. Wind (above, n. 2) 35 compares the blind
weapons to Heracles' blundering attempt to shoot Meleager in lines 69–76.

φιτρὸν ἐγκλαύσασα· τὸν δὴ
    μοῖρ᾽ ἐπέκλωσεν τότε
ζωᾶς ὅρον ἀμετέρας ἔμμεν. τύχον μὲν
    Δαϊπύλου Κλύμενον
παῖδ᾽ ἄλκιμον ἐξεναρί-
    ζων ἀμώμητον δέμας,
πύργων προπάροιθε κιχήσας·
    τοὶ δὲ πρὸς εὐκτιμέναν
    φεῦγον ἀρχαίαν πόλιν
Πλευρῶνα· μίνυθεν δέ μοι ψυχὰ γλυκεῖα·
    γνῶν δ᾽ ὀλιγοσθενέων,
αἰαῖ· πύματον δὲ πνέων δάκρυσα τλάμων,
    ἀγλαὰν ἥβαν προλείπων.''

Once again much of the story's impact derives out of its departure from tradition. Phoenix in the *Iliad* mentions Meleager's mother's enmity but keeps him alive and responsible for the near destruction of his city; his point is, of course, to get Achilles to relent, and it would defeat his purpose to place the blame for the damage on any but the hero of his didactic story. Bacchylides similarly ignores another epic version where Meleager is killed, like Patroclus, fighting against Apollo.[41] Instead he uses a version of the story that illustrates with grim finality the complete failure of the values that the singers of epic tried to set. Rather than dying the death of a hero, Meleager is murdered indirectly, by the most primitive sort of sympathetic magic, unable to defend himself, and his killer is not a proper masculine heroic adversary, a Hector or Achilles, but his own mother acting not in justifiable vengeance for premeditated murder but in unhappy ("weeping") retaliation for her brothers' useless, unintentional deaths. This is the version of the story used by Phrynichus and Aeschylus as an illustration of monstrous female vengeance: its irrational elements and its destructive character make it well suited for tragedy.[42] Bacchylides' reasons for choosing it are

[41] Pegasus is as irrelevant to Glaucus' version of Bellerophon's story, where the emphasis is on human achievement, as the burning brand is to Phoenix' paradigmatic tale of Meleager; see Martin P. Nilsson, *A History of Greek Religion* (2nd ed., Oxford 1952) 174–179. Apollo kills Meleager in *Eoeae*, frag. 98, from Berlin Papyrus #9777 (and see Pausanias 10.31.3).

[42] According to Phrynichus, frag. 6N, "a swift flame burned him when the torch was consumed, at the hand of his mother evil-devising," in an even clearer case of sympathetic magic; see Townsend (above, n. 2) 63. Aeschylus' *Libation Bearers* compare Althaea to Clytemnestra (586ff). Althaea's ethics may have shocked Athenian audiences, but the myth has deep psychological if not historical validity: Alcmena marries Amphitryon, her father's slayer, but refuses

certainly similar: the presence of the supernatural and the fatal power
of a feminine agency are key themes of Meleager's story that comment
bitterly on Heracles' and our own perceptions of a rationally structured
world.

Bacchylides makes the relationship of this story to the preceding lines
clear with masterful economy, by keeping every word and action in some
measure reminiscent of earlier phases of the narrative. He begins by
making Althaea seem strangely godlike in her willful isolation and in her
ability to act on her intentions: "not taking this into account ... she
plotted my death" suggests Ares, in the lines immediately above, who
"does not distinguish friends in war and brings death to those whom he
wishes," and also Artemis' refusal at the beginning of the story to hear
Oeneus' prayers and her firm resolve throughout to hold "her anger un-
conquered." The designation "sharp-minded child (maiden, κούρα) of
Thestius" associates Althaea still more directly with Artemis, the
"maiden" who sends the violent boar to hunt the hunters of Calydon
(104), and the unrelenting "sharp-minded daughter of Leto" who
starts a second war (123). Godlike too is Althaea's disregard for ordinary
human ties of family and friendship, emphasized by the way in which her
genealogy "Thestius' child my mother," with its intimations of child-
hood and motherhood, is mentioned only to be immediately denied in
the next clause, "evil-fated for me planned my death," where the com-
bination of two death words, the new "evil-fated" (κακόποτμος) and the
traditional "death" (ὄλεθρον), immediately recalls the reiterative line,
"dread fate destroyed" (ὤλεσε μοῖρ᾽ ὀλοά), that relates the death of
Meleager's brothers. "Fearless woman" conveys a final note of in-
humanity in this context where male heroes fight "cautiously" and even
Heracles is afraid.

There is a similar concentration of effect in the next sentence, where
every detail seems to have significant reference to Meleager in earlier
phases of the story. Althaea "burns the branch from an ornate chest"
the way Heracles deliberately selects out the arrow intended for
Meleager, "folding back the cover of his quiver." Bacchylides emphasizes
the humanity of the fatal piece of wood Althaea uses for her magic by
describing it first with an epithet used in Homer most frequently of
heroes, "swift-fated" (ὠκύμορος), at the same time bringing to mind

---

to sleep with him until he avenges her brothers' deaths ("Hesiod" *Shield* 9–22);
and, of course, there are Antigone and Polyneices. On the historical background
of the myth, see E. A. S. Butterworth, *Some Traces of the Pre-Olympian World
in Greek Literature and Myth* (Berlin 1966) 51–52.

the "fate" (μοῖρα) that killed Meleager's brothers, and then also by calling it a "living branch" (φιτρόν), a growing thing, which suggests Heracles' admiring question to Meleager at the beginning of the story: "who raised up such a shoot (ἔρνος)?"[43] Similarly Althaea's weeping (ἐγκλαύσασα) recalls Meleager's own tears following Heracles' question. The phrase "fate spun" (μοῖρ' ἐπέκλωσεν, with its malignant resonance of the more sympathetic "weeping," ἐγκλαύσασα a few words before) summons up again the picture of "dread fate" destroying (ὤλεσε μοῖρ' ὀλοά) with all its sinister reference to the happier fate Hieron seems to be enjoying in the ode's introduction. In fact, that "fate spun" and "swift-fated" are the only direct reminiscences from Homer in this passage shows how far from Phoenix' comprehensible universe we have now come. The conditions of this brave new world are perhaps characterized by the term "boundary" at the end of the sentence, which picks up the oddly prosaic description of Althaea "not taking this into account," as if to express in the language of the marketplace Meleager's initial point, that the only true determination and ability to understand (νόος) are divine.[44]

The final lines of Meleager's story draw from reminiscence the same intense poignancy, in the inevitability of his death, in the shattering of the heroic world. Meleager has no control and no foreknowledge of his fate, as the first word of this section immediately suggests, "I happened" (τύχον). Death overtakes him in what would ordinarily be a moment of triumph, as he strips the armor from a dead adversary. But even this victory is inherently qualified: Clymenes with his traditional patronymic is "courageous," but, like Meleager's uncle and brothers, only at the moment of his death. In addition to this, his body is "blameless," as if Bacchylides were using the intensified form of the Homeric epithet to stress once more the haphazard pointlessness of war, the blind weapons, the inability to distinguish friend from foe. The next two clauses seem rather incidental at first, "after I had come near the towers, for they had fled to the well-founded old city of Pleuron"; but the language ("well-founded," "old city") is consciously Homeric, and

[43] In other versions (see n. 42) Meleager's surrogate is called a "torch" (δαλός, from δαίω, burn). The idea of trees representing human life (e.g. the generations of leaves, nn. 25, 33, and the tree nymphs who guard Aeneas in *Homeric Hymn* 5) is of course quite universal; see James G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, II 71–73; Jebb, *ad loc.*; and Stern (above, n. 2) 41.

[44] Homer speaks in a formulaic (e.g. *Odyssey* 16.64, 3.208) pattern of δαίμων or the gods "spinning" for men, but the use of the feminine μοῖρα as subject is quite new. The specialized term ὅρος, "boundary," does not occur in Homer, who has the more generalized "measure (μέτρον) of youth" (*Odyssey* 11.317).

the importance of so many scenes near the towers of Troy comes to mind, particularly the last moment of Patroclus' life, and Hector's. These intimations are more sharply defined in the next lines: "My sweet life grew weak, and I knew I had little strength, aiai. And breathing my last, I wept in sorrow leaving behind my shining manhood." The soul (ψυχά) departing, Meleager's weeping, and the last line, "leaving behind shining manhood" (ἀγλαὰν ἥβαν προλείπων), recall directly the deaths of Patroclus and Hector, where both times the same two lines occur in grim cross-reference (*Iliad* 16.856–857, 22.362–363):

ψυχὴ δ᾽ ἐκ ῥεθέων πταμένη Ἀϊδόσδε βεβήκει,
ὃν πότμον γοόωσα, λιποῦσ᾽ ἀνδροτῆτα καὶ ἥβην.

Bacchylides leaves just enough detail to recall the Homeric setting but changes the rest to emphasize his own key themes. The flying of the soul down to Hades does not concern him, but rather its sweetness to Meleager, and the realization "I knew I was small in strength" capping one of the story's most important points, that man has knowledge, but only of his ultimate weakness. Meleager dies without the foresight of Patroclus or Hector (who like John of Gaunt become prophets "new-inspired" at the moment of death) without any suggestions of fame to come or hope of vengeance. Replacing the ordered values of tradition is the spare pragmatism expressed by the new compound "weak-in-strength" (ὀλιγοσθενέων), which is reminiscent of Simonides' famous lamentation "man's strength is small (ὀλίγον κάρτος), his concerns are unaccomplished; he has in a short life sorrow after sorrow, and death hangs above all" (520LP = 9D).[45] The painfulness of the realization is brought out forcefully in the cry "aiai" occurring directly in the narrative. This brief exclamation is more natural in dramatic lyric than in the festive context of a victory ode, and it is all the more striking because of its prominent position at the beginning of a verse. The last two lines retain this tragic flavor, with the dramatic interjection, "in sorrow" (τλάμων, "poor me") at line-break, and the agonized "breathing forth my last," which replaces Homer's extrapersonalized "the soul . . .

---

[45] For "my sweet soul grew small," cf. ὠκύμορος (141) and also Thetis' despairing statement to Achilles, "now so short is your lifetime" (αἶσα μίνυνθά περ, *Iliad* 1.417), further suggestions of the association between Achilles and Meleager; see Stern (above, n. 2) 39 n. 17. In addition to the new compound "weak-in-strength," Bacchylides' phrases "from the ornate chest" and "shining manhood" may also have been inspired by Simonides, i.e. Danae's and Perseus' δαίδαλα λάρναξ (543LP = 13D), and the ἀγλαὸν ἥβην of the Athenian army in battle against the Persians (115D).

having left" with the added intensity of vivid alliteration (πύματον δὲ
πνέων . . . προλείπων).[46] These departures from Homer's text suggest
the relevance of Meleager's last moments to his story and to the ode
as a whole. His final "I wept" (δάκρυσα) echoes directly his weeping
(δακρυόεις) at the beginning of his narrative, suggesting in the traditional
manner that we have come full circle, in the same way, for example,
that the ode's introduction began and ended with reference to happy
fate (μοῖρα, 1 and 51) and to racing horses (2, 50). With this there seem
to be in Meleager's language "sweet" and "know" intentional refer-
ences to Hieron's understanding of the Muses' sweet gift (γνώσῃ . . .
Μοισᾶν γλυκύδωρον ἄγαλμα) in the ode's opening lines, and in his re-
gretful elaboration "shining youth" (ἀγλαὰν ἥβαν) a final ironic sugges-
tion of the brightness of song (ἄγαλμα) and victory.

But Heracles perceives only in part the meaning of Meleager's story:
(155–175):

> φασὶν ἀδεισιβόαν
> 'Αμφιτρύωνος παῖδα μοῦνον δὴ τότε
> τέγξαι βλέφαρον, ταλαπενθέος
> πότμον οἰκτίροντα φωτός·
> καί νιν ἀμειβόμενος
> τᾶδ' ἔφα· "θνατοῖσι μὴ φῦναι φέριστον
> μηδ' ἀελίου προσιδεῖν
> φέγγος· ἀλλ' οὐ γάρ τίς ἐστιν
> πρᾶξις τάδε μυρομένοις,
> χρὴ κεῖνο λέγειν ὅτι καὶ μέλλει τελεῖν.
> ἦρά τις ἐν μεγάροις
> Οἰνῆος ἀρηϊφίλου
> ἔστιν ἀδμήτα θυγάτρων,
> σοὶ φυὰν ἀλιγκία;
> τάν κεν λιπαρὰν ἐθέλων θείμαν ἄκοιτιν."
> τὸν δὲ μενεπτολέμου
> ψυχὰ προσέφα Μελεά-
> γρου· "λίπον χλωραύχενα
> ἐν δώμασι Δαϊάνειραν,
> νῆϊν ἔτι χρυσέας
> Κύπριδος θελξιμβρότου."

Although the circumstances of Meleager's death give final expression to
all previous intimations about man's helplessness, and the efficacy of

---

[46] For a similar use of dramatic exclamation in straight narrative, see Bacchy-
lides' *Dithyramb* 17.119, *re* Minos' state of mind as Theseus emerges unharmed
from the sea (cf. Pindar, frag. 182S = 172B).

Althaea's magic denies the validity of the very things Heracles has always relied on, strength of hand and quickness of eye, Heracles' sympathy at the end of the speech is reserved for Meleager alone, and even then is limited: tears come to his eyes, but he does not actually weep; he is still removed from the complete despair of Meleager himself or of Althaea. How little he has changed is suggested by a brief reprieve of the Homeric diction with which the story began. Again there is a consciously bardic "they say" (φασίν, cf. λέγουσιν, 57); the new adjective "fearless in the cry of battle" (ἀδεισιβόας), with a pertinent emphasis on sound, suggests Heracles' introduction as "gate-smasher hero unconquered"; his patronymic recalls the "lord son of Amphitryon" in his first amazement at Meleager (84–85); then comes the formal "answered and spoke" (cf. "so he spoke . . . he said . . . and Meleager addressed him" above), and finally the epithet "sorrow-enduring" (ταλαπενθέος) that Odysseus uses to Calypso to describe the condition of his humanity, "I will endure it, having a heart *enduring sorrow*" (5.222). In spite of all that Meleager has said, we seem to have returned to the traditional standards of the heroic world. In fact Heracles' pity for Meleager and the formulaic phrase "light of the sun" (ἀελίου φέγγος) again recall the scene where Odysseus and Heracles meet in Hades (*Odyssey* 11.617–626):

> "Διογενὲς Λαερτιάδη, πολυμήχαν' Ὀδυσσεῦ,
> ἆ, δείλ'! ἦ, τινα καὶ σὺ κακὸν μόρον ἡγηλάζεις,
> ὅν περ ἐγὼν ὀχέεσκον ὑπ' αὐγὰς ἠελίοιο.
> Ζηνὸς μὲν πάϊς ἦα Κρονίονος, αὐτὰρ ὀϊζὺν
> εἶχον ἀπειρεσίην· μάλα γὰρ πολὺ χείρονι φωτὶ
> δεδμήμην, ὁ δέ μοι χαλεποὺς ἐπετέλλετ' ἀέθλους.
> καί ποτέ μ' ἐνθάδ' ἔπεμψε κύν' ἄξοντ'· οὐ γὰρ ἔτ' ἄλλον
> φράζετο τοῦδέ τί μοι χαλεπώτερον εἶναι ἄεθλον.
> τὸν μὲν ἐγὼν ἀνένεικα καὶ ἤγαγον ἐξ Ἀΐδαο·
> Ἑρμείας δέ μ' ἔπεμψεν ἰδὲ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη."

What is interesting here is that the shade of Heracles in telling his story moves from despair to a proud recitation of his heroic deeds, κλέα ἀνδρῶν. The living Heracles in Bacchylides' ode maintains his Homeric counterpart's faith in human achievement, though he is not by necessity restricted to remembrance of things past, but instead looks toward the future, by repeating "there is no use in grieving this way" (οὐ γάρ τίς ἐστιν πρᾶξις τάδε μυρομένοις), the admonishment that Achilles uses to Priam concerning the dead Hector (*Iliad* 24.524) and that Odysseus utters to his men when their ship is blown from Ithaca and later when

Elpenor falls from Circe's roof (οὐ γάρ τις πρῆξις ἐγίγνετο μυρομένοισιν, 10.202 and 566), all contexts where personal loss and despair are followed by renewed action and purpose.[47]

But Bacchylides' Heracles is even more pragmatic than the epic heroes. Between Homericisms he speaks in a very contemporary idiom. He begins by reciting the answer to what seems to have been a popular riddle: "What is the best thing for mortals? Not to be born at all." But instead of illustrating what he means, he immediately dismisses this pronouncement as idle speculation, first in Homer's words ("there is no use in grieving") and then as a simple aphorism of his own, "one must talk about what can be done." His final question clearly indicates that his faith in the material world has not really been shaken: since Meleager is dead, does he have a sister who looks like him, whom Heracles can marry, and thus through children, in the most practical human way, perpetuate both his own and Meleager's abilities? This final proposal, of course, completely denies his opening statement, "it is best not to be born."[48] The ease with which he contradicts himself recalls his ready dismissal of Hera ("this is somehow bright Pallas' concern") above, which brought Meleager to tears. His very words reveal a similar unawareness of all that Meleager has tried to say: Oeneus "loved by Ares" recalls the old heroic world, but not without sinister reference to the undiscriminating Ares who let Meleager kill his uncles; and his wish to make Meleager's sister his "shining wife" brings to mind both the brightness of the attendant divinities and agents of victory, and the false promise of Artemis white-armed and the blazing boarskin. Heracles, with an irony reminiscent of tragedy, can see only the constructive side of these possibilities.

But Meleager's answer soon brings out the negative side. Even the formal prefatory statement "him the soul of Meleager answered" (ψυχὰ προσέφα Μελεάγρου) grimly echoes the introductions to his earlier speeches (ψυχὰ προφάνη Μελεάγρου, 77, and τὸν δὲ προσέφα Μελέαγρος,

---

[47] On Heracles' unaltered faith in traditional heroic standards, see Wind (above, n. 2) 38, who notes in the phrase "Amphitryon's son" continued ironic reference to his mortality (see n. 26).

[48] "Not to be born is best" is one of Homer's winning answers in the *Contest* with Hesiod (315, see also *Theogony* 425–428 and Smyth, p. 409). The adage's inherent irony was fully exploited in the age of tragedy, e.g. in Solon's answer to Croesus in Herodotus 1.31.3, or in the chorus' dismal observations in Sophocles' *Oedipus at Colonus* 1224–1238. The idea of eyelids moist with tears ("they say that only then Amphitryon's son had tears in his eyes," 157) occurs elsewhere only in tragedy. Bacchylides was clearly sensitive to current poetic taste; see below, n. 57.

93). The word "soul" (ψυχή), last used at the moment of his death, is here repeated for the sixth time, with the same consistent reference to mortality (64, 77, 83, 133, 151). The epithet "steadfast in battle" was used before in the same metrical position, of the Curetes (126) fighting the cautious war that had such fatal consequences for Meleager. But what Meleager actually says to Heracles has more explicitly sinister connotations: "I left behind in his halls tender-throated Deianeira, still ignorant of golden Cypris, enchantress of mortals." There is a deliberate suspense in the word order. The adjective "tender-throated" (χλωραύχενα) is merely ambivalent, suggestive both of the youth and promise inherent in "shining" (λιπαρᾶς) above, and at the same time of the deadly "pale (χλωρόν) fear" of epic battle and the "pale (χλωρηΐς) nightingale" in the *Odyssey* pouring forth her lamentation for the child she murdered. However, in the next line, the fatal meaning of Heracles' proposal becomes explicit. Meleager names his sister, with pointed alliteration, ἐν δώμασι Δαϊάνειραν. The Greek audience knows the story, that she, and not a male heroic figure, will be the cause of Heracles' death. In the context of this ode her very name ("man-render") seems to recall the sound of δαΐφρων ("sharp-minded"), the epithet of Meleager's murderous mother and the angry killer Artemis (137, 122).[49] Bacchylides hints at what the future has in store for Heracles in another ambivalent phrase, "still ignorant of golden Cypris, enchantress of mortals." Heracles can take this to be a simple confirmation that she is yet unwed and can see in the cult title "golden" a potential wealth and beauty. But in a larger sense "still ignorant" and "Cypris enchantress of mortals" describe the exact circumstances of Heracles' death, how Deianeira will murder him by sending him a love charm in jealousy, a robe she has poisoned, in which Heracles will die a fiery death as painful and as irresistible as Meleager's. The new compound θελξίμβροτος, which ends the speech, emphasizes the supernatural means of Heracles' destruction and, behind it, the agency of still another feminine divinity.[50]

---

[49] "Pale-throated" may be another quotation from Simonides, who speaks of "spring nightingales much-chattering" (χλωραύχενες, 586LP = 45D); see n. 45.

[50] For the story of Heracles' death, see Bacchylides' *Dithyramb* 16 and Townsend (above, n. 2) chap. 3 n. 17. Carne-Ross (above, n. 1), following Jebb, criticizes the abrupt ending of the myth in *Ode* 5 for clumsiness, preferring instead a version attributed to Pindar by the scholia on *Iliad* 22.194, which has Meleager *ask* Heracles to marry Deianeira (frag. 298aS). It seems hard to understand why this version (if it is in fact a faithful summary of what Pindar said) would be much of an improvement; see Demarque (above, n. 2) 173, and on the effectiveness of Bacchylides' version, Wind (above, n. 2) 39 and Adam Parry (above, n. 2) xxiii.

We feel at the conclusion of Meleager's speech that the story as a whole has also ended. Heracles can now depart satisfied with the happier possibilities of Meleager's answer. But the audience meanwhile knows of the true resolution, that the fears Heracles expressed before about his death ("who killed you? for soon Hera will send him after my head") will be fulfilled more nearly than he can yet understand. Thus we have from either outcome the sense of completion that instinctively comes from one-to-one responsion, an impression strengthened by the fact that we have returned to the scene and characters with which the story first began. We can also recall in Heracles' maxims about mortality the statement about human happiness that the myth was meant to illustrate. What we ourselves are intended to infer from the completed story is hinted at in these final lines by a fleeting reference to a shining and golden femininity that recalls the still earlier scene of the ode's introduction, where the poet sends his song to Hieron under the guidance of gold-banded Urania and where gold-armed Dawn watches over the triumphs of the racehorse at Olympia and Pytho. The myth was after all originally addressed to Hieron: "no mortal was ever in all ways blessed by god."

In the next lines, at the beginning of a new antistrophe, Bacchylides makes a swift transition from the myth to today's world and the occasion of Hieron's most recent victory (176–186):

> λευκώλενε Καλλιόπα,
>   στᾶσον εὐποίητον ἅρμα
> αὐτοῦ· Δία τε Κρονίδαν
>   ὕμνησον Ὀλύμπιον ἀρχαγὸν θεῶν,
> τόν τ' ἀκαμαντορόαν
>   Ἀλφεόν, Πέλοπός τε βίαν,
> καὶ Πίσαν, ἔνθ' ὁ κλεεννὸς
>   ποσσὶ νικάσας δρόμῳ
> ἦλθεν Φερένικος ἐς εὐπύργους Συρακόσ-
>   σας Ἱέρωνι φέρων
> εὐδαιμονίας πέταλον.

Bacchylides does not attempt to make any explicit connection between the dark message of the myth and the present joyful celebration. But, as in the case of the eagle simile, contingency alone suggests that there is a direct relationship, which once again will be expressed through careful reminiscence. The lines immediately recall the setting of the introduction, with the presence of the Muse, the chariot of song, the names of the

patron deities of Olympia, Zeus, Alpheus, Pelops, the hill Pisa, and once
again the running of the racehorse, where ποσσὶ νικάσας δρόμῳ recalls
the "new-ringing" victory, and of course the victor Hieron and his
city Syracuse. But the language Bacchylides now uses to describe them
suggests that the myth has brought about a change. First of all the Muse
Calliope is "white-armed," like the implacable Artemis who sent the
boar, as if her femininity were also destructive as well as constructive, and
victory could somehow contain within itself the machinery of defeat.
Suddenly clear distinctions are made between immortal figures and
mortal accomplishments. The divinities are now constants: Zeus is
founder (ἀρχαγός), where before as "wide-ruling" and "loud-thunder-
ing" he had some kinship with King Hieron and the eagle. Similarly,
the river Alpheus now flows tirelessly instead of whirling broadly in
distant reflection of the Syracusans' whirling horses and the running of
Pherenicus. Human activity, on the other hand, has clear temporal and
spatial limitations. Where, earlier, Bacchylides had before him ten
thousand paths in all directions to praise Hieron's achievement, now he
bids the Muse stop "at this point" (αὐτοῦ, "here") a chariot which is
"well-made," completely fitted in the best tradition of epic artifacts.[51]
In the same way, the horse's victory is set precisely in space, "there,"
and in time, "he came," in the aorist tense of single completed action.
Even Syracuse is now "well-built," like Troy or the "well-founded"
city of Pleuron where Meleager died. In effect, all the color and the
continuous reiterated rushing of the introduction is gone. Instead,
Pherenicus comes only once to bring Hieron a "leaf of divine blessing."
This last phrase is perhaps the clearest indication of how Bacchylides
intends us to apply the lesson of the myth. "Divine blessing"
(εὐδαιμονία) refers directly back to the introduction to the myth ("no
mortal was ever in all ways εὐδαίμων," 54–55). The "leaf" (πέταλον)
stands starkly for the customary victor's wreath of olive branches.
Slight and insubstantial in its singularity, without reference to brightness
or suggestion of some other immortal quality, in the context of this ode
it can only bring to mind the souls of the dead, "as many as the leaves
the wind whirls along Ida" (65–67), Heracles' comparison of Meleager

---

[51] On the poet's chariot of song, see Taran (above, n. 10) 30–31. Wind (above,
n. 2) 41–42 sees in εὐποίητος a reference to poetry, which would be the earliest
instance of the use of ποιέω in this specialized sense; the first established such
usage is in Herodotus 1.23 *re* Arion "having composed" a dithyramb, but Pin-
dar's "mixed together a false made-up (ποιητός) story" (*Nemean* 5.29) comes
fairly close.

to a young sapling (87), and finally the fatal "branch" that was the measure of Meleager's life (142).[52]

In the next lines Bacchylides expresses the limitations of mortality in plainer language (187–190):

> χρὴ δ᾽ ἀλαθείας χάριν
> αἰνεῖν, φθόνον ἀμφοτέραισιν
> χερσὶν ἀπωσάμενον,
> εἴ τις εὖ πράσσοι βροτῶν.

"One must praise, for truth's sake" is a vernacular restatement of the introductory "weaving a web of praise ... I come, servant of gold-banded Urania," now stripped of all connection with divinity. Division between god and man is further emphasized in the next clause, "and thrust off envy with both hands, if one does well." The imagery of physical force, with its implied personification of envy, is ultimately derived from the allegory of jealous Zeus striking down the rising man's achievements in the great moral tracts of Hesiod and Solon, and in Archilochus' and Theognis' more personal complaints about the inequities of man's existence. But in the context of this ode the reference to violence more immediately suggests Heracles' quick hand on the bow and Meleager's battles with both animal and human adversaries, struggles that are all inherently unsuccessful, since Heracles' target is insubstantial and Meleager's initial victories are the direct cause of his defeat.[53] The implication is that the poet's metaphorical battle against envy will be likewise unavailing. The hedging, indefinite conclusion, "if one does well," links these sober lines directly back to Hieron, and the admonishment, "happy the man who has a share in good things, no one of mortals was ever in all ways blessed by god," lines which in turn echo the ode's confident introduction, "fortunate lord of Syracuse ... you will judge ... if any mortal can, rightly." Thus even in the conventional language of morality, swift verbal reminiscences from the myth, with all the accumulated force of their negative implications,

---

[52] On plant imagery in this ode, see Stern (above, n. 2) 41–42. Pindar also exploits the symbolic significance of the wreaths and garlands of victory, in terms of growth and fruition to express success on an immediate level, e.g. *Olympian* 8.74–76, or in terms of light to suggest a more lasting, quasi-divine achievement, e.g. *Isthmian* 4.75.

[53] For the use of allegorical language with moral abstractions, see especially Hesiod, *Works and Days* 11–26 (the two strifes), 217–224 ("Δίκη wins over ὕβρις when she gets to the end of the race," etc.); cf. *Iliad* 16.384–396 and Bacchylides *Ode* 13.199, "envy forces," cf. "gain forces," Ox. Pap. #2432 (also attributed to Simonides) and frag. 1, "wealth associates even with the lowly."

sharply qualify the joy of the present triumph. Significantly, these four lines fall in metrical correspondence to Meleager's final speech to Heracles. The myth was meant as an expression of Hieron's own mortality. Once again Bacchylides has made his intentions clear by careful recollection.[54]

In the final epode of his song Bacchylides sets the inherent pessimism of his praise into a more positive perspective (191–200):

> Βοιωτὸς ἀνὴρ τάδε φώνησεν, γλυκειᾶν
>   Ἡσίοδος πρόπολος
> Μουσᾶν, ὃν ἂν ἀθάνατοι τιμῶσι, τούτῳ
>   καὶ βροτῶν φήμαν ἔπεσθαι.
> πείθομαι εὐμαρέως
>   εὐκλέα κελεύθου γλῶσσαν οὐ — — ˘ —
> πέμπειν Ἱέρωνι· τόθεν γὰρ
>   πυθμένες θάλλουσιν ἐσθλῶν,
> τοὺς ὁ μεγιστοπάτωρ
>   Ζεὺς ἀκινήτους ἐν εἰρήνᾳ φυλάσσοι.

In one respect at least Hieron's achievements will have meaning, and that is in the present world, among other men. Bacchylides states this idea indirectly at first, by recalling the familiar passage from the *Theogony* that he used earlier in the ode's introduction. There, even while expressing a new element of personal responsibility, he had retained at least some of the of the traditional tone of Hesiod's lines by direct verbal reminiscences. For example, he kept, "brilliance, sweet gift of the Muses" to recall the epic's inspirational "sweet dew" and "sweet speech"; and "straight-directing" replaces the king "judging with straight directions." He even described himself in bardic terms as "servant of Urania," "pouring song." But here Bacchylides gives even greater credit to human agency. The important thing about the lines is that Hesiod said them, and he is described first of all simply by nationality, as "a Boeotian man." A more striking departure still is his translation of the traditional "servant" into "priest of the Muses." The older term θεράπων signified a kind of personal service, if not slavery. But

---

[54] On the significance of Meleager's story for Hieron, see also A. Parry (above, n. 2) 110. Gentili (above, n. 13) 526 sees in Deianeira an intended warning to Hieron against marriage for political purposes, but there is no sure historical evidence for this; and, in any case, myths in victory odes are not allegories but expressions of more general truths. According to Townsend (above, n. 2) 65, on the other hand, "the application of the myth to Hieron is uncertain . . . The myth is independent of the victory context, and like Kroisos [in *Ode* 3], would make a good dithyramb cut loose from its ties."

"priest" (πρόπολος) is a contemporary term, suggestive rather of the ministerial caretaking duties of the businesslike temples of the international fifth century B.C. Even Hesiod's actual words are reduced to contemporary terms. His detailed description, "whomever among Zeus-nourished kings the great daughters of Zeus honor and look on from his birth" (81–82), becomes in Bacchylides the prosaic phrase "he whom the immortals honor." For Hieron none of the supernatural trappings of the epic passage remain. "Whomever among Zeus-nourished kings" is replaced by a simple relative "whom," and instead of "the great daughters of Zeus" stands the more general "immortals," as if to suggest all aspects of divine favor, not just the ability to know and speak that Hesiod has in mind. Next Bacchylides substitutes the brief apodosis "him talk of mortals follows" for Hesiod's vivid narrative, "when he goes through the city, they greet him joyfully like a god, with honey-sweet reverence, and he stands out among them when they gather: such is the Muses' holy gift to men" (91–93). Again all divinity and individual personality have been excised. Only a faint suggestion of the gathering crowd's joyful greeting is retained in the abstraction "talk among mortals follows." In fact, Bacchylides seems to derive from Hesiod's setting a new contrast between immortal honor and mortal praise in order to remind us of the basic distinction he set up at the beginning of this second praise of Hieron, i.e. the inherent difference between the transience of human achievement (reflected once again in the motion of "follow") and the now distant, unattainable constancy of god.[55]

This concentration of present reputation leads into a final restatement of the poet's role and the meaning of victory: "I trust easily to send Hieron the voice of good fame ... not ... the path ... for from here grow the roots of good things, which may Zeus greatest father [guard] in peace" (195–200). Each word in this passage seems intended to recall Bacchylides' statements about poetry in the ode's proem. "I trust easily" suggests the confident "he wants to pour"; "good-famed tongue," the "voice in praise," and "famous city" suggest "famous servant of Urania." "Send to Hieron" of course recalls the poet's sending a web of song to Syracuse, and "path" (κέλευθος) immediately brings to mind his initial choice from ten thousand paths in all directions.

---

[55] Jebb, who does not note the closer imitation of Hesiod's passage about bards and kings in lines 3–15, concludes that Bacchylides in 191 must be referring to a lost passage of Hesiod or a lost epic poet; "our poet may have named Hesiod by mistake."

The repetition once again brings a sense of completion; we have re-
turned to something like the starting point and thus thematically as well
as musically can expect the poem to end. But in this second passage
there is not even a suggestion of the earlier bright trappings of divinity,
only reference in rather simple terms to the present human context.
There is even in the final prayer a continuing awareness of the limita-
tions of mortality. The roots of good flourishing again suggest growing
and dying, the souls like the dead leaves, the branch of Meleager's
life, and the single leaf of Hieron's divine blessing. But now at least the
emphasis is on growth and the potential of the future. The concluding
lines reaffirm this elemental human hope. That Zeus may protect these
roots "undisturbed in peace" admits by implication the existence of
war and danger and recalls all the violent motion of the myth and
Pherenicus' ambivalent rushing.[56] However, the new compound "great-
est father" and the emphatic position of the word "peace" stress hope
in a divine solution, as if denying the myth's dark feminine confusion
by a reassertion of the masculine order with which the ode began.

The ode thus ends with an affirmation of basic human values, of the
joy in present success, the companionship of friends, and the admira-
tion that along with peace are the "good things" in life. The simplicity
of this final section is all the more affecting because of its contrast with
the poem's opening lines. By repeating the same actions and readapting
the same passage from Hesiod without the proem's bright wonder or its
sense of sharing in the lasting glory of divinity, Bacchylides makes still
more explicit the stark message of the myth. He seems to be urging
Hieron not to regard his victory in the traditional manner, by seeing in
his achievement a close kinship with the gods or by hoping for the lasting
satisfaction of a quasi-immortal fame. Instead, he offers a quiet pragma-
tism that he already hinted at in the myth, first by the intrusion of
commonplace words like "calculate" and "boundary" into the formal
epic diction of Meleager's story, and then in Heracles' realistic aphorism,
"we must speak about what can be accomplished."

This final acceptance of human limitation differs strikingly from the
outlook of his contemporary Pindar. The Theban poet, even in his
darkest moments, constantly sees the presence of the divine in human
nature, as, for example, at the end of his late, despairing ode, *Pythian*
8, where his anguished "creatures of a day: what is anyone, what is he

---

[56] The basic meaning of πυθμήν is "root (of a tree)" (e.g. *Odyssey* 13.372,
23.204, Aeschylus *Suppliants* 106), though Hesiod employs it as a metaphor to
describe the bottom of the sea (*Theogony* 932 and cf. Pindar, frag. 207S = 196B).

not? Man is a dream of a shadow" is followed immediately by the basic imagery of divinity and an invocation of past heroic glory: "but when god-given brightness comes, it is a shining light for men and a season honey-sweet; Aegina, dear mother, keep this city on a free course with Zeus and ruling Aeacus, Peleus, good Telamon, and with Achilles" (95–100). But in *Ode 5* Bacchylides' final prayer is concerned not with the remote and unattainable but with here and now, expressing only the quiet hope that the good which comes from his and Hieron's achievements will survive at least a season's length in peace.

Perhaps one explanation of Bacchylides' popularity with his contemporaries lies in this final commitment to the world of man. This is not to say, of course, that most Greek poetry is not concerned with the proper study of mankind but that Bacchylides' humanism has a peculiarly fifth-century character. His uncle Simonides seems to have built up one of the greatest reputations in Greece by directing his poetry to universal human problems, i.e. morality, the irrational, and death. His narrative about Danae (543P = 13D) seems especially moving because he uses some of the same techniques Bacchylides employs so successfully in *Ode 5*. That is, Danae's suffering seems the more acute because it is contrasted with the uncomprehending sleep of the infant Perseus, and ordinary words seem to jolt reality into the formal epic diction of description. But the shattering of illusion, the isolation of man in a hostile universe that Simonides and Bacchylides depict is in a larger sense the proper domain of Attic tragedy. Like Meleager, tragic heroes succumb to forces beyond human control, and in drama, as in *Ode 5*, pathos is heightened by constant confrontation of ignorance with knowledge and by ironic repetition of the same word in cruelly different contexts. Bacchylides' sea and storm imagery of violence and his startling exclamations of despair seem to have been borrowed from the stage. His use of these tragic techniques seems particularly significant because Hieron apparently brought Aeschylus to Syracuse along with Bacchylides, Simonides, and Pindar, to celebrate the founding of Aetna with a special festival play.[57] This enthusiasm for Attic tragedy may explain at

---

[57] On Bacchylides' use of dramatic techniques in *Ode 5*, see Townsend (above, n. 2) 55, 64, who regards such "experiments" as inherently unsuccessful because of the rigid structuring of the lyric form: Bacchylides "was the last of the nine because lyric was ripe for replacement by something new" (107). On Aeschylus' visits to Sicily, see the *Ancient Life* 8–9 and 18, and A. Lesky, *Greek Tragedy* (New York 1965) 57–58. A fragmentary outline of the *Aetnaeae*, the play Aeschylus wrote for Hieron, suggests that it was a moralistic play, perhaps not unlike the *Persians* in tone, but with great shifts in scene instead of time.

least in part why Hieron seems to have preferred Bacchylides' *First Olympian* to Pindar's, and why eight years later he asked the Ceian poet, rather than the Theban, to celebrate his second victory at Olympia.

But probably a more fundamental reason for Bacchylides' success lies in his exploitation of familiar modes of thought. The structure of the ode retains at least in outline the characteristic geometric patterning of oral epic, with the proem's action reiterated in the conclusion, and with confrontations with Heracles framing the central action of the myth. In the narrative itself each subsection has the same basic plot: Artemis' anger, the boar, and Meleager's brothers' deaths are restated in the continuation of her anger, the war over the boar's skin, and the deaths of Meleager's uncles, to be picked up finally in Althaea's vengeance, the burning brand, and Meleager's death. The pattern in each case is feminine malevolence, a nonhuman agent of destruction, and death that steadily becomes more relevant for Meleager.[58] Another familiar device is the repetition of action and description which links together the different sections of the poem, joining the eagle with Hieron and the racehorse, Artemis with Althaea, the bright creative divinities of the proem with the dark goddesses of the myth, Hieron with the confident Heracles, and the poet with the prophetic Meleager. The continuous motion of the natural world, in the whirling horses, the eagle flying in unbroken space, the tireless sea, the whirling river, and the rushing racehorse, is contrasted with interruption in human life, in Hieron breaking away from his sorrows, in the unreleased arrow on Heracles' bow. Artemis' anger is unremitting, the battles go on, but Meleager reaches the boundary of his life, cut down in mid-action. The myth begins (80) and ends (177) with a command to "stop." The resulting implication of transience in human achievement is all too clear. The prayer for stability in the proem ("may god not tire doing good") is reiterated in the final lines, with reference to the tireless Alpheus and to the roots of good, "immovable in peace."[59]

Homer, of course, uses repetition with great cumulative effect, e.g. by describing both Patroclus' and Hector's deaths with the same lines and by letting Diomedes' and Glaucus' stories of their ancestors foreshadow Hector's meeting with his son Astyanax at the end of the same book (*Iliad* 6.123–311, 390–493).[60] Such thematic reiteration makes *Ode*

---

[58] On geometric structure in epic see Whitman (above, n. 1) chaps. 5, 11.

[59] On the contrast between movement in the natural world and interruption in human life, see Stern (above, n. 2) 37–40.

[60] On thematic repetition, see also Porter (above, n. 4) 249–251, 262, 270, on its effective use in *Homeric Hymn* 5 to emphasize themes of mortality.

5 readily comprehensible and coherent to the Greek ear, quite uncon-
sciously, without the elaborate artificial analysis to which we English-
speaking readers, twenty-five hundred years distant, must of necessity
resort. I would submit that "imitation" of epic was an equally effective
means of communication with an ancient audience, who knew their
Homer and Hesiod as thoroughly as our great-grandparents knew the
Bible. To his contemporaries, Bacchylides' epic recollections could serve
as a kind of metaphorical language, in which a few words could bring to
mind a fuller picture, and comparison could add new meaning to the
poem. Thus brief references to the "generation of leaves," Odysseus'
descent to the lower world, Hector's death, and Achilles' meeting with
Priam add vast scope to Meleager's narrative, and repeated recapitula-
tion of the proem of the *Theogony* strengthens the impression of man's
isolation in the present world. In short, the very qualities for which
Bacchylides has since antiquity been criticized seem, in *Ode* 5 at least,
to be the most creative and effective aspects of his art.

ADDENDUM

One more illustration of Bacchylides' creative use of imitation, noted
briefly as this article goes to press: Herwig Maehler, *Bakchylides:
Lieder und Fragmente* (Berlin 1968) 13, observes that lines 16–31 des-
cribing the eagle's flight recall the passage from *Hom. Hymn* 2 where
Aidoneus brings Persephone back to her mother (380–383):

ῥίμφα δὲ μακρὰ κέλευθα διήνυσαν οὐδὲ, θάλασσα
οὔθ᾽ ὕδωρ ποταμῶν οὔτ᾽ ἄγκεα ποιήεντα
ἵππων ἀθανάτων οὔτ᾽ ἄκριες ἔσχεθον ὁρμήν,
ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὲρ αὐτάων βαθὺν ἠέρα τέμνον ἰόντες.

Bacchylides (see above, pp. 55–57) has retained the essential elements
of the epic scene with its relevant context of release from imprisonment.
But he gives emphasis to the idea of freedom by stressing the size of the
obstacles the eagle can overcome. The "grassy valleys and hills" of the
hymn become "peaks of the high earth"; "river waters" become "inap-
proachable waves of the tireless sea"; "they cut the steep air" is quoted
almost verbatim at the beginning of Bacchylides' simile and rephrased
again at its end into "he flies in limitless space." The hymn's "long
paths" have been already transformed into "innumerable paths of song."
But the similarities are great enough to let Bacchylides' audience recog-
nize his Homeric model, and as such this recollection plays an integral
role in the ode's structuring. The reference here to Aidoneus' immortal

horses picks up the allusion to the Muses' chariot in the proem, is re-
iterated in the description of the horse Pherenicus, and is brought back
again in the final mention of the Muses' chariot that concludes the
myth, in the traditional geometric patterning that Bacchylides employs
throughout (cf. the citations of the proem to the *Theogony* that frame
the ode, pp. 90–91 above).

WELLESLEY COLLEGE

AGAMEMNONEA

Hugh Lloyd-Jones

I

Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*
72–74:

> ἡμεῖc δ' ἀτίται caρκὶ παλαιᾶι
> τῆc τότ' ἀρωγῆc ὑπολειφθέντεc
> μίμνομεν . . .

FRAENKEL, following Ahrens, seems to me to have demonstrated that the word ἀτίτηc must mean "one who does not, or cannot, pay." Yet Denniston and Page are right when they say that "'un-honoured' seems the only possible sense here" and when they argue that the suggestion that "not paying" could stand for "unable to pay the debt of military service to the state" is not attractive.

We could reconcile the natural meaning of ἀτίται with the sense demanded by the context if we could suppose that the meaning was "we who have not paid to our aged flesh the debt we owe it," i.e., the debt of death. The notion of death as a debt which all men owe is very frequent in sepulchral epigrams from the Hellenistic period onwards; see Lattimore, *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs*, 170f, and Gow on Callimachus epigr. 37.4 (II, p. 194) and on Theodoridas epigr. 12 (*ibid.*, p. 544). The epigrammatists took over the notion from earlier poetry; even if the ascription to Simonides of *Anth. Pal.* 10.105 (θανάτωι πάντεc ὀφειλόμεθα, line 2) is dubious, the notion occurs at Sophocles *El.* 1173, Euripides *Alc.* 419, 782, *Andr.* 1271, frag. 10, Aristophanes frag. 452 (all quoted by Gow). But in all these places death is said to be owed to us. In the epigrams, we are said to owe death to Hades, or to Nature, or to the gods. I cannot find a place where an old man is said to owe death to his aged flesh, and in default of such a passage I hesitate to press home my suggestion. But the idea seems to me a natural one, and I do not think it lies open to the reproach of being too obscure that

73*

Denniston and Page have levelled against the suggestion that the debt of
military service owed to the state is intended here.

<div align="center">II</div>

355–361:

<div align="center">

355   ὦ Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ καὶ νὺξ φιλία,
μεγάλων κόσμων κτεάτειρα,
ἥτ᾽ ἐπὶ Τροίας πύργοις ἔβαλες
στεγανὸν δίκτυον, ὡς μήτε μέγαν
μήτ᾽ οὖν νεαρῶν τιν᾽ ὑπερτελέσαι
360   μέγα δουλείας
γάγγαμον, ἄτης παναλώτου.

</div>

Fraenkel in his note on ὑπερτελέσαι (II 189ff) discusses the question
of whether the poet is comparing the Trojans to fish or to game. Al-
though he notes that the word γάγγαμον seems to favour fish, comparison
with 358ff and 1375ff seems to him to favour game; "besides," he
remarks, "the distinction made in μήτε μέγαν μήτε νεαρῶν τινα seems
more appropriate if we are thinking not of fish but of game." νεαρῶν, he
says in his note on that word, suggests a comparison with young wild
animals. He arrives at no definite conclusion, but is inclined to favour
game.

Now though in two other passages of the *Agamemnon* Aeschylus uses
the image of game being caught in a net, that is no reason why he
should not use the image of fish here. Further, I do not see why νεαρῶν
should not suggest young fish as well as it can suggest young animals.
Fraenkel is therefore right in not considering the arguments that seem to
favour game as being decisive, and I have a new argument that favours
fish.

Babrius frag. 4 (on p. 8 of B. E. Perry's very useful Loeb edition of
1965) reads as follows:

<div align="center">

Ἁλιεὺς σαγήνην ἣν νεωστὶ βεβλήκει
ἀνεῖλετ᾽. ὄψου δ᾽ ἔτυχε ποικίλου πλήρης.
τῶν δ᾽ ἰχθύων ὁ λεπτὸς εἰς βυθὸν φεύγων
ὑπεξέδυνε δικτύου πολυτρήτου,
ὁ μέγας δ᾽ ἀγρευθεὶς εἰς τὸ πλοῖον ἡπλώθη.
     Σωτήριόν πώς ἐστι καὶ κακῶν ἔξω
τὸ μικρὸν εἶναι· τὸν μέγαν δὲ τῆι δόξηι
σπανίως ἴδοις ἂν ἐκφυγόντα κινδύνους.

</div>

The relevance of this fable will, I think, strike most readers as obvious.
What most recommends it is the explanation which it offers of the singu-
lar fact that the older Trojans or beasts are denoted not by any word

signifying age, but by μέγαν (358). In the fable of the fish it was their size that prevented the older fish from escaping from the net, so it is natural that they should be called not "the old ones" but "the big ones." "Loquitur tanquam de piscibus irretitis," says Blaydes (*Aeschyli Agamemnon*, Halle 1898, p. 199).

I cannot find this fable in any collection older than that of Babrius; but that is no reason why it should not have existed in the time of Aeschylus. On Babrius' sources, see Perry, lixff.

III

739-749:

<div style="text-align:center">

πάραυτα δ' ἐλθεῖν ἐc Ἰλίου πόλιν
740   λέγοιμ' ἄν φρόνημα μὲν
νηνέμου γαλάναc
ἀκαcκαῖον ⟨δ'⟩ ἄγαλμα πλούτου,
μαλθακὸν ὀμμάτων βέλοc,
δηξίθυμον ἔρωτοc ἄνθοc.
παρακλίναc' ἐπέκρανεν
745   δὲ γάμου πικρὰc τελευτάc,
δύcεδροc καὶ δυcόμιλοc
cυμένα Πριαμίδαιcιν
πομπᾶι Διὸc ξενίου
νυμφόκλαυτοc Ἐρινύc.

</div>

The fourth syllable of line 742 must be long, and clearly either τ' (Hermann) or δ' (Porson) must be supplied. μὲν . . . τε is of course not an uncommon combination, but it is far from being as common as μὲν . . . δέ. If many editors, of whom the latest is Fraenkel, have preferred Hermann's τ', it is because the sense has seemed to them to indicate that δ' will not do. It has seemed so because, to quote Fraenkel, "almost all translators render (unintentionally, we may well think) the four components of the list asyndetically." They have been so impressed by what Fraenkel calls "a striking regularity in their parallel arrangement" in the four nominal clauses that extend from

740   φρόνημα . . . γαλάναc   to 743   δηξίθυμον . . . ἄνθοc

that they assume that all four clauses must be parallel in sense. "The correct feeling of translators and editors for what is expected here," writes Fraenkel, "is all the more remarkable because they almost all accept a text which offers the addition of δ' or τ' in 741, with the consequence of spoiling the asyndeton." Fraenkel himself follows suit, and accepts τ', "admittedly as a last resort, for I cannot see why in the series of four

expressions the first and second should be more closely connected than
one or more of the other elements with others."

Let us try the experiment of asking what the text will mean if we follow
the indication supplied by the presence of μὲν in 740 and of either δ' or
τ' in 742; since δ' is the more natural particle to supply, let us first try
to make sense of the passage on the assumption that δ' is right. This will
mean that we must provisionally and for a moment clear our minds of the
assumption that all four clauses are exactly parallel, that assumption
which Fraenkel has called "the correct feeling of translators and editors
for what is expected here."

If we take the particles at their face value, the "temper of windless
calm" will be one thing and the "gentle delight of wealth" will be
another; further, the "gentle delight of wealth" will be identical with the
two things that are linked with it by asyndeton, with the "soft arrow of
the eyes" and with the "flower of love that stings the heart." Is this
possible?

What is meant by saying that there came to Troy "a temper of windless
calm?" Presumably it means that everyone felt safe and peaceful, as
people do when the sky is windless and the sea still. I need hardly point
out that a person can hardly be described as a φρόνημα, so that it is most
unlikely that this expression is a periphrasis for "Helen."

Next, what is meant by ἀκασκαῖον ἄγαλμα πλούτου? The term ἄγαλμα
means first that in which anyone delights (πᾶν ἐφ' ὧι τις ἀγάλλεται, Eusta-
thius 456.22, etc.) and secondarily an adornment. "The delight (or 'the
adornment') of wealth" is an expression whose reference is not clear if
it stands by itself; it could, however, be used to describe something indi-
cated in the context. For this reason, and because we are now considering
the first of three nominal clauses linked asyndetically, it is natural to
look to the two following clauses for a clue to its application here.

What is "the soft dart of the eye?" This question is much easier to
answer; from a whole number of passages in early poetry — Barrett on
Euripides *Hipp.* 525–526 and 530–534 gives much of the evidence — we
know that love is darted from the eyes of the beloved to those of the lover.
We shall expect to find that "the soft dart of the eyes" is Eros, Love; and
if once more we look to the following clause for explanation of the one
which precedes it, we shall find that expectation confirmed.

What is "the flower of Love that stings the heart"? Clearly ἔρωτος is a
defining genitive; we have here a periphrasis for Love. Why is Love a
flower? At *Prometheus Vinctus* 7 fire is called "the flower" of Hephaestus.
The expression is not, as editors tell us, synonymous with τὸ σὸν...
γέρας at line 38; ἄνθος does not mean "the pride," "the guerdon," "the

special distinction" of Hephaestus; nor have such expressions as ἄνθος cτρατιᾶς, "the flower of an army," which editors quote, the slightest relevance. ἄνθος simply means "flower." The most helpful parallel is a variant of *Iliad* 9.212 which is given in the scholia on the *Prometheus* passage and quoted by Plutarch *Mor.* 934 B; instead of

$$\text{αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ κατὰ πῦρ ἐκάη καὶ φλὸξ ἐμαράνθη}$$

these sources give

$$\text{αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πυρὸς ἄνθος ἀπέπτατο, παύcατο δὲ φλόξ.}$$

Fire was called a flower because it is brightly coloured and because it spreads its seeds abroad; the same concept lies behind the passage of the *Odyssey* (5.490) in which a peasant who heaps ash round the flame to keep it alive is described as

$$\text{cπέρμα πυρὸς cώζων, ἵνα μή ποθεν ἄλλοθεν αὔοι.}$$

Just so in Kipling's *Jungle Book* the animals call fire "The Red Flower." Fire also resembles a flower, or at any rate some flowers, in having a sting, only it stings not the finger but the θυμός.

We must turn back for a moment to the first of our three parallel clauses to ask why Love is called "the delight (or 'the adornment') of wealth." It is a Greek commonplace that the indigent do not fall in love; it has been illustrated by Nauck on Euripides frag. 895, to whose parallels we may add Achaeus frag. 6 and Menander *Dysk.* 341ff and *Heros* frag. 10. In this context it is especially natural to associate Eros with luxury; Troy was a wealthy and luxurious city, and Helen and Paris were wealthy and luxurious people.

The three nominal clauses that extend from 741 ἀκαcκαῖον . . . πλούτου to 743 δηξίθυμον . . . ἄνθος are seen to refer to the same thing, Love. We find here the familiar method by which something is indicated first by an obscure and riddling paraphrase, then by a paraphrase whose meaning is easier to grasp, and finally by a direct mention. We may compare the opening of the second stasimon of the *Seven Against Thebes*, a passage excellently explained by Fraenkel (*Kleine Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie*, I 399f): "I shudder at her that destroys houses, the god unlike the gods, the prophet of evil who speaks all too true, her whom their father's prayer called down — the Erinys."

$$\text{πέφρικα τὰν ὠλεcίοικον,}$$
$$\text{θεὸν οὐ θεοῖc ὁμοίαν,}$$
$$\text{παναληθῆ κακόμαντιν,}$$
$$\text{πατρὸc εὐκταίαν ᾿Ερινύν (720ff).}$$

The periphrastic descriptions are at last clarified and completed by the terrible name, falling with all the more weight for having been held back, of the person they describe; just so in the corresponding lines of the antistrophe the poet holds back the name of that iron with which the curse of Oedipus has doomed his sons to divide their inheritance: "And a stranger surveys the drawing of their lots, a Chalybian settler from Scythia, a divider of their possessions little to their liking, cruel Iron."

> ξένος δὲ κλήρους ἐπινωμᾶι
> Χάλυβος Cκυθῶν ἄποικος,
> κτεάνων χρηματοδαίτας
> πικρός, ὠμόφρων cίδαρος (727ff).

For a full account of what Fraenkel (II 9) calls "the way in which the riddling expression . . . is followed by the explanation that solves the conundrum," see pp. 80f, 379, and 691 of his great work.

If the hypothesis which we provisionally adopted, that the particles μὲν and δ' are to be taken at their face value, is correct, these lines say that there came to Troy two things — a temper of windless calm, and Love. Almost all editors, acting upon what Fraenkel calls their "correct feeling for what has been expected here," think that there came to Troy four things, each of which is in some sense a description of Helen. I do not think I need take up much space to show that the sense obtained by following our hypothesis is both a great deal more precise and a great deal more poetical than that which editors have so far extracted from the passage. The meaning is that with the arrival of Helen the Trojans acquired a feeling of blissful calm and security, of a kind that in Greek literature often precedes the moment of catastrophe. Compare, to take only one example, the description of the reception of the Trojan horse in the first stasimon of Euripides' *Troades*:

> ἀνὰ δ' ἐβόαcεν λεὼc
> Τρωιάδος ἀπὸ πέτραc cταθείc·
> "Ἴτ', ὦ πεπαυμένοι πόνων,
> τόδ' ἱερὸν ἀνάγετε ξόανον
> Ἰλιάδι Διογενεῖ κόραι."
> τίc οὐκ ἔβα νεανίδων,
> τίc οὐ γεραιὸc ἐκ δόμων;
> κεχαρμένοι δ' ἀοιδαῖc
> δόλιον ἔcχον ἄταν (522ff).

Also the Trojans were possessed by Eros. Eros was responsible for Helen's presence, and Paris was in a special sense his victim. The other Trojans were his victims too, not simply in that all were under Helen's

spell, as the elders of Troy show themselves to be in the Teichoskopia of the third book of the *Iliad*, but in that all were the victims of Eros in its most general sense, of delusion, vain desire, infatuation. That general sense is the one in which the word is used in the speech of Diodotus in the Mytilenean debate in the third book of Thucydides (45.5): ἥ τ' ἐλπὶς καὶ ὁ ἔρως ἐπὶ παντί, ὁ μὲν ἡγούμενος, ἡ δ' ἐφεπομένη, καὶ ὁ μὲν τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν ἐκφροντίζων, ἡ δὲ τὴν εὐπορίαν τῆς τύχης ὑποτιθεῖσα, πλεῖστα βλάπτουσι, καὶ ὄντα ἀφανῆ κρείσσω ἐστὶ τῶν ὁρωμένων δεινῶν.

What is the meaning of the words that follow at 744f? Fraenkel translates, "But then she swerved from this, and accomplished a bitter end of the marriage-rites . . ."; in his view, as in that of almost all scholars, Helen is actually called "an Erinys bringing tears to brides." He takes παρακλίνασα as intransitive, meaning "having swerved." This would be the only instance of an intransitive use; *Iliad* 23.424 is given as a second in *LSJ*, but it is there acknowledged that the word ἵππους is easily supplied.

> Ἀντίλοχος δὲ παρατρέψας ἔχε μώνυχας ἵππους
> ἐκτὸς ὁδοῦ, ὀλίγον δὲ παρακλίνας ἐδίωκεν (423–424).

Denniston and Page take παρακλίνασα to be transitive, and translate "She turned from its course, and accomplished a bitter end of, the marriage." Both interpretations would imply that the marriage of Paris and Helen was at first set on a course leading to happiness; later it was diverted from that course by the Erinys, who according to Denniston and Page is not identified with Helen but is named in her own person.

I agree with Denniston and Page that Ἐρινύς means "the Erinys," and not Helen; but I doubt whether the Erinys is said to have "turned from its course" a marriage that in reality, as distinct from appearance, was heading for disaster from the start. Rather, I believe that παρακλίνασα here means "having laid them beside each other," i.e., "having put them to bed together."

The use of παρακλίνω which I suppose to be found here is not, let it be admitted, attested early. We find it at Theocritus 2.44:

> εἴτε γυνὰ τήνωι ποτικέκλιται εἴτε καὶ ἀνήρ.

We find it, in the active voice and used transitively, in an epigram at *Anth. Pal.* 5.2.1–4:

> τὴν καταφλεξίπολιν Cθενελαΐδα, τὴν βαρύμισθον,
> τὴν τοῖς βουλομένοις χρυσὸν ἀμεργομένην,
> γυμνήν μοι διὰ νυκτὸς ὅλης παρέκλινεν ὄνειρος,
> ἄχρι φίλης ἠοῦς προῖκα χαριζομένην.

The same use occurs in the narration of the Ixion myth in the A scholia on *Iliad* 1.268: Ζεὺς δὲ βουλόμενος αὐτὸν δοκιμάσαι εἰ τῶι ὄντι τολμᾶι ποιῆσαι τοῦτο, νεφέλην ἀπεικάσας Ἥραι παρέκλινεν αὐτῶι: the same story is told in similar words in the epitome of Apollodorus 1.20 (p. 181 Wagner). Hieronymus of Rhodes at Athenaeus 435 A quotes Theophrastus for a story of how Olympias arranged for Alexander to enjoy the company of a beautiful hetaira: Ὀλυμπιάδος . . . παρακλινάςης αὐτῶι Καλλιξείναν τὴν θετταλὴν ἑταίραν περικαλλεστάτην οὖςαν . . .

The action of the Erinys is being described, it might be argued, in terms appropriate to that of the νυμφεύτρια who at a Greek wedding accompanied the bride to the house of the bridegroom's parents, or to that of the bridegroom's mother, who accompanied the bridal pair to their chamber carrying a torch. That image is employed by the Virgilian Juno when she apostrophises Lavinia before sending Allecto to Latium to provoke a war:

> sanguine Troiano et Rutulo dotabere, virgo,
> et Bellona manet te pronuba   (*Aen.* 7.318–319).

But the expression is best understood if we remember how on Greek vases that show wedding scenes Aphrodite, Eros, or one or other of their attendant daimones are often shown hovering in the neighbourhood of the bridal couple.[1] Just so Eros floats near Helen in the Boston skyphos showing her abduction which Fraenkel (II 345) so aptly recalls in connection with the passage we are discussing. Eros and Aphrodite are near the bridal couple ὥστε παρακλῖναι τὴν νύμφην τῶι νυμφίωι: in this case, the daimon present for this purpose is the Erinys.

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD

---

[1] See H. Metzger, *Les représentations dans la céramique attique du IVe siècle* (1951) 15ff; cf. D. von Bothmer, "New Vases by the Amasis Painter," *Antike Kunst* 3 (1960) 73.

EURIPIDES, *ALCESTIS* 1092–1098

Marylin A. Whitfield

Αδ. κείνην ὅπουπερ ἔστι τιμᾶσθαι χρεών.
Ηρ. αἰνῶ μὲν αἰνῶ· μωρίαν δ' ὀφλισκάνεις.
Αδ. ὡς μήποτ' ἄνδρα τόνδε νυμφίον καλῶν.
Ηρ. ἐπήινεσ' ἀλόχωι πιστὸς οὕνεκ' εἶ φίλος.
Αδ. θάνοιμ' ἐκείνην καίπερ οὐκ οὖσαν προδούς.
Ηρ. δέχου νυν εἴσω τήνδε γενναίων δόμων.
Αδ. μή, πρός σε τοῦ σπείραντος ἄντομαι Διός.

A. M. DALE, in her edition of the *Alcestis*,[1] comments, "The sequence of thought and grammar in these lines is defective," and proposes to excise 1094-1095. Wilamowitz had already suggested the excision of 1093–1094. Neither interpolation is satisfactorily explained. For example, Miss Dale thinks that 1094 "appears to come from 331, 1095 being added to keep the stichomythia correct." But 1094 is not in fact very close to 331, and since Admetus is concerned here (1092ff) to reaffirm the validity of the promises made at 328ff, we would be led to expect, rather than to be surprised at, a reiteration of his sentiments. And in view of 328–331, 1094 is a natural and logical amplification of 1092.

We must in general be wary of attempts to transpose, emend, or excise these lines, since they are attested as they stand in both branches of the manuscript tradition. And the attempts by the copyist and the scholiast to explain the lines establish them firmly as the correct reading. Furthermore, certain stylistic features of these lines are characteristic of this play in general and of the last part of the play in particular. Euripides in the *Alcestis* takes no particular pains to avoid repetition of word or thought. Note, for example, that the sentiment expressed in line 200 is repeated in lines 384, 417–418, 615–616, 824, 879–880, and 1083. Lines 418 and 1083 are identical except for the final words. And the word repetition in 1093 (αἰνῶ μὲν αἰνῶ), is paralleled in 1017 (καὶ μέμφομαι

---

[1] Oxford 1954.

μὲν μέμφομαι) and seems to be characteristic of this last portion of the play.[2]

The poetic use of ἀνὴρ ὅδε to equal ἐγώ is not particularly common in Euripides. Sophocles, of whom we have only about one third as many plays, uses the device more often than Euripides.[3] Of its seven occurrences in Euripides, five are to be found in the *Alcestis*, four of them by Admetus.[4] Euripides seems to have been particularly anxious, in this scene, to exploit the possibility for irony involved in the use of ἀνήρ to mean both husband and man, of γυνή to mean both wife and woman, and of γάμος to mean both marriage and ordinary sexual intercourse.[5]

An examination of these lines from the point of view of language, style, and text leads us to believe that they are genuine as they stand and must therefore be explained as such. There are two possibilities:[6] (a) Nauck's emendation of 1094 (ἴσθ' οὔποτ') is not widely accepted; or (b) we can understand an imperative αἴνει from αἰνῶ in 1093: "⟨Praise⟩ as one who will never call this man a bridegroom." This latter explanation was first suggested by Hermann, is supported by Paley, and offers, in Miss Dale's view, the best solution to the passage as it stands. But as Miss Dale observes, "the grammatical *tour de force* of passing over μωρίαν δ' ὀφλισκάνεις poses quite a difficulty." It is true that a ὡς with a circumstantial participle can look in back of a parenthetical statement for the verb on which it depends, as in *I.T.* 556–557:

> Ορ.   οὐκ ἔστι· παῖς νιν ὃν ἔτεχ', οὗτος ὤλεσεν.
> Ιφ.   ὦ συνταραχθεὶς οἶκος. ὡς τί δὴ θέλων;

But in the case of a μέν ... δέ antithesis which is as pointed and strong as that in line 1093, we simply cannot separate out the δέ clause and call it grammatically parenthetical.

Therefore, I suggest a third possibility for explaining the sequence of both thought and grammar in this passage: introduce a question mark at the end of line 1094, and understand καλῶν to depend upon μωρίαν

---

[2] Other examples are in lines 1039, 1047, 1065, 1066–1067, and 1086.

[3] See Ellendt, *Lexicon Sophocleum*, ὅδε II.2.B.e.

[4] At lines 331, 719, 1084, and 1094. See also line 690, spoken by Pheres.

[5] Note that Heracles' prize would ordinarily be a slave and therefore unsuitable for marriage with Admetus.

[6] Many editors, following the suggestion of the scholiast's paraphrase of the line (ἴσθι μηδέποτε καλέσων με νυμφίον) and of the ἴσθι written over ὡς by the second hand in L, have explained the sentence as *oratio obliqua* with the main verb, ἴσθι, suppressed. But if 1094 is really grammatically independent of 1093, then we must, as Miss Dale notes, have a finite verb. See *Hec.* 400: ὡς τῆσδ' ἑκοῦσα παιδὸς οὐ μεθήσομαι, "Know that I will not willingly give up my daughter."

δ' ὀφλισκάνω from μωρίαν δ' ὀφλισκάνεις: "⟨Am I being foolish⟩ because[7] I will never call this man a bridegroom?" A similar solution was first proposed by Wuestemann, in his 1823 edition of Monk's text. He printed a question mark at the end of his line 1113 (which corresponds to Murray's 1094) and explained as follows: "*Interrogationis signum adjeci; quo facto locus ita expediendus erit:* μωρίαν ὀφλήσω ὡς μήποτε καλῶν ἐμὲ νυμφίον;"

The explanation which I, following Wuestemann, have adopted may involve a grammatical difficulty arising, in this case, from the use of ἄνδρα τόνδε to equal ἐμαυτόν. So far as I know, it is not possible to parallel the use of either ἀνὴρ ὅδε or καλεῖν in a reflexive expression. However, I think we must avoid confusing the fact that ἄνδρα τόνδε here equals ἐμαυτόν with the fact that ἄνδρα τόνδε and not ἐμαυτόν is the expression used. That is to say, there is nothing in itself which is difficult about ἄνδρα τόνδε νυμφίον καλῶν (calling this man a bridegroom); the difficulty arises only when we observe that ἄνδρα τόνδε must be equal to ἐμαυτόν, and ἐμαυτὸν νυμφίον καλῶν is an expression not precisely attested elsewhere.

Although my solution does involve a certain straining of syntactical principles, it is quite possible that this results from a conscious extension of the ordinary limits of language and syntax in order to emphasize the ironical and paradoxical implications involved in the last scene of the *Alcestis*. And the appropriateness of my interpretation is particularly evident when the lines are examined in their proper context. At this point in the play Heracles is concerned to have Admetus accept into his house a woman who is, as Heracles knows, Alcestis, and who is, as Admetus thinks, a prize offered as a token of guest-friendship. As an excuse for refusing the girl, Admetus invokes in 1092 the τιμή which he is bound, as he says, to show to his wife. Heracles then makes a statement in 1093 which seems highly paradoxical to Admetus; for it is clear that Admetus, recalling Heracles' appeals for expedient behavior in 1087 (γυνή σε παύσει καὶ νέου γάμου πόθοι) and 1091 (μῶν τὴν θανοῦσαν ὠφελεῖν τι προσδοκᾷς;), assumes that Heracles is calling him foolish for refusing to remarry. But Heracles has in the same line just praised him (αἰνῶ μὲν αἰνῶ) for ostensibly the same reason. And so Admetus, confused as he is, will naturally want to make sure of the meaning of μωρίαν δ' ὀφλισκάνεις, which seems to contradict the first half of Heracles' line. And so Admetus reiterates, in effect, the phrase, and adds the condition upon which he assumes the charge is based.

[7] For ὡς with the participle in the causal sense see Eur. *El.* 947 and *Supp.* 477.

From Heracles' point of view the antithesis he proposes in 1093 is an altogether valid one: Admetus is praiseworthy for seeking to honor his wife, but foolish for invoking that honor to justify his refusal to receive into his house a woman who is in fact that same wife. Heracles' statement, then, points up the extreme irony of the situation.

Therefore, even if we were to accept Nauck's emendation, or to alter the text in some other way so that we could legitimately read 1094 as a statement of emphatic assurance (⟨Know that⟩ you will never call this man a bridegroom), it would be altogether unsatisfactory in terms of the sequence of thought. For we would have to assume that Admetus understands 1093 as merely insulting and that he ignores what must seem to him to be an extremely paradoxical proposition. Furthermore, an outburst from Admetus at this point would not only make Heracles' reply of 1095 seem tame and pointless but would detract from the force of the outbursts at 1096 and 1098, which otherwise have a kind of climactic intensity.

On the other hand, for Admetus to reply to Heracles' 1093 in the way in which I have suggested, as if the statement seems confusing and paradoxical to him, means that the paradox of line 1093 is not merely introduced and dropped in the same line but is intensified by Admetus' confused attempt to clarify it. And now line 1095 has special point: for, while line 1094 has been the reiteration of the δέ clause, line 1095 is a more forceful[3] repetition of the μέν clause. And thus Admetus' attempt to clarify the antithesis has only led to its being reiterated *in toto* and reaffirmed in its original form. Lines 1093–1095 thus form the most acute expression of the irony which is inherent in this whole last scene.

YALE UNIVERSITY

---

[3] The aorist of ἐπαινεῖν (referring back to the immediate past of 1093) is emphatic: see Kühner-Gerth, II part 1, pp. 163–164. ἐπαινέω is cited in *LSJ* under ἐπί (G.III.4) as an example of ἐπί added to a verb for the sake of intensification.

ΛΗΚΥΘΙΟΝ ΑΠΩΛΕΣΕΝ

CEDRIC H. WHITMAN

THERE has been little or no general agreement about the point of the celebrated scene in the *Frogs*, 1200ff, where Aeschylus ruins a long series of Euripidean prologues with a little oil-flask. In his commentary, W. B. Stanford adequately summarizes the most frequent explanations and observes that none of them is very satisfactory.[1] A tribrach in the fourth foot is neither a crime against meter nor is it exclusively Euripidean; a little oil-flask may be a somewhat homely utensil for the high tragic mode, but it is scarcely a sufficient prop to support the humor of a rather extended scene; the syntax of the prologues quoted may be a little monotonous (ὁμοείδειαν), as the Scholiast suggested; but again, the humor seems weak; and the point, moreover, appears to be, if anything of the sort, the monotony, not of the syntax, but of the caesura which permits the line to be completed with ληκύθιον ἀπώλεσεν. But, as has often been pointed out, the trochaic caesura is extremely common, so that Aeschylus could have played the same trick on himself or on Sophocles. If the humor lies in any of these quarters, the audience surely would have yawned rather than roared through the scene. Yet the *Frogs* was awarded first prize and the unparalleled honor of a second performance.[2] True, the clockwork inevitability of the recurrent phrase, as in the λαβὲ τὸ βιβλίον scene of the *Birds*, raises a smile in accordance with Bergson's automation principle of comedy. But there seems more to be desired; and, since it is never unreasonable to suspect Aristophanes of obscenity, the possibility of secondary meanings ought to be weighed.

At the beginning of the scene, Aeschylus announces that he will destroy all Euripides' prologues with a ληκύθιον; Aristophanes stirs

---

[1] W. B. Stanford, *The Frogs* (London 1963), p. 174, *ad* 1208. I see little help in H. P. Cookesley's suggestion (*Frogs, ad loc.*) that ληκύθιον ἀπώλεσεν = *oleum perdidit*, "wasted time"; the Latin idiom had its origin not in rubbing-oil, but in lamp-oil, which a ληκύθιον could never suggest.

[2] *Argumenta* 1 and 3.

interest in what is to come by making Euripides exclaim, "What do you
mean, ληκύθιον?" To which Aeschylus replies (1203):

> καὶ κῳδάριον καὶ ληκύθιον καὶ θυλάκιον.

The anomaly of the resolved sixth foot has tempted some editors to
emend; but surely here we actually do have a hit at Euripides' fondness
for resolution, as well, probably, as at his homeliness of language, all
the items being of a household sort, and diminutives at that.[3] But if
that is all, it should be asked why, as metrical equivalents, the κῳδάριον
and θυλάκιον are not given a share in the ruination of Euripides' pro-
logues. Why could not Pelops, or whoever, achieve equally effective
bathos by losing his little fleece or little sack? But the oil-flask is pre-
ferred, probably for a reason; and the probable reason is that Aeschylus
was boasting vainly when he mentioned the other two; he could achieve
his end only with an oil-flask, partly because it was phallus-shaped, and
partly because its first syllable had suggestive possibilities.

Unfortunately for the argument, there is no lexical evidence that
ληκύθιον was ever used as slang for *membrum virile*, but there is some
reason to suspect that it was so used here by Aristophanes. If so, it would
produce a point quite appropriate to the bawdry of Old Comedy in
general and to the critique of tragedy which is the theme of the *Frogs*
in particular. Though ληκύθιον itself seems ordinarily to have been
innocent of double-entendre, Hesychius and Photius both knew a
word ληκώ = *membrum virile*; this word, elsewhere unattested, may
or may not be classical, but the verb ληκάω (=λαικάζω), which looks
as if it ought to be its denominative, certainly is.[4] Could a false syllabifi-
cation, i.e., a certain drawing out of the first three letters of ληκύθιον,
together with a degree of phallic byplay on Aeschylus' part, encompass
the suggestion that what the men of Euripides' prologues had lost was
something of greater moment than a small piece of pottery? Whether or
not that is the case, certainly a λήκυθος, as the inevitable appurtenance of
an athlete, could be used as a symbol of masculinity, and Aristophanes
did so use it in the *Thesmophoriazusae*, where its opposite, the στρόφιον,
"brassiere," is the symbol of femininity (line 139):

> τί λήκυθος καὶ στρόφιον; ὡς οὐ ξύμφορον.

The evidence for this interpretation may seem slight; but, if there is
any truth in it, then Aristophanes is here in the *Frogs* continuing a theme

---

[3] Suggested by J. Van Leeuwen, *ad loc.*
[4] Aristoph. *Thesm.* 493; Pherec. frag. 177 Kock.

which was of major importance in the *Thesmophoriazusae*, namely the emasculate effeteness of the new tragedy begun by Euripides and even better exemplified by the effeminate Agathon.[5] Herein may also be found the reason for Dionysus' remarkable choice of words in the prologue when he explains his mission to Heracles: he wants to redeem from Hades a poet who is γόνιμος (96). Commentaries and dictionaries explain that this word should be taken as equivalent to γνήσιος, "noble," "genuine," but there is no evidence that it had that meaning in the fifth century, as it did later. Though Plato used it metaphorically (*Theaet.* 150c, *Rep.* 367d), Aristotle continued to use it in its precise original meaning of "fertile," "sexually productive," and so it should be rendered here.[6] Tragedy had lost its vigor; comedy, on the other hand, always abundantly supplied with phalluses, was prepared to point out the fact and, if possible, repair the loss.

It is not surprising therefore that the choice of Euripidean prologues under examination is as it is. In the prologues quoted, the subject of the first sentence is invariably a man or a male deity, never a woman; no matter who the speaker is, the subject is always masculine, and the minute he steps on stage he loses his masculinity. Prologues could have been found with feminine or neuter subjects,[7] but, since they had no ληκύθιον to lose, they were not to the purpose. And the most telling occasion comes when Dionysus himself, as Prologue to the *Hypsipyle*, is the subject of the sentence. As Aeschylus' refrain inexorably comes in, Dionysus cries out with Agamemnon, ὤμοι πεπλήγμεθ' (1214; did he make a convulsive, protective gesture?), and begins to protest against the prologue competition, urging Euripides to give up. He utters a much disputed line (1235), but if the phallic interpretation of ληκύθιον be correct, then the conflict between ἀπόδος and ἀπόδου resolves itself quickly in favor of the active:

ἀλλ' ὦγάθ', ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἀπόδος πάσῃ τέχνῃ.

The Scholiast was unclear as to who was buying or selling what to whom, but surely Euripides is being urged to buy a ληκύθιον (as in 1227 above, ἀποπρίω) which he himself, by implication, lacks, from

---

[5] See C. H. Whitman, *Aristophanes and the Comic Hero* (Cambridge, Mass. 1964) 216f.

[6] Cf. J. D. Denniston, "Technical Terms in Aristophanes," *CQ* 21 (1927) 113, for γόνιμον as used for a fertilized egg as opposed to a wind egg.

[7] Among the extant plays alone, the *Andromache* and *Medea*, where the ληκύθιον trick would work, and the *Hippolytus* and *Suppliants*, where it would not.

Aeschylus, who decidedly has one. For an obol, says Dionysus, he can get "a fine noble one" (καλὴν κἀγαθήν). But Euripides is blind to his own shortcomings.

The quest for a "fertile" poet terminates in the redemption of the virile Aeschylus, and the sexual imagery, however secondary in the *Frogs*, should not be ignored. If Aeschylus was required to reinvigorate the heroic, masculine art of tragedy (and therewith Athens as well) he could do it; he could not, however, do it with a κῳδάριον or a θυλάκιον, but only with a ληκύθιον. [8]

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

---

[8] There is little to support the attempts of J. Taillardat (*Les images d'Aristophane* [Paris 1965] 297f, 467ff) and others to show that in the fifth century λήκυθος and related words could refer to sonorous rhetoric, as they undoubtedly did later, for whatever reason. Sophocles frag. 1063 (Pearson), ληκυθιστής, glossed as μικρόφωνος (μακρόφωνος, Meineke) by the Suda and as κοιλόφωνος by Hesychius, *may* be an instance of such usage before the third century; but a single word from an unknown play, and a *hapax* at that, is scanty evidence. Besides, the rhetorical metaphoric use is always derogatory (*pace* Edmond Pottier), so that it is hard to see any humorous point in Euripides' characters' losing an undesirable style that they never had anyway.

NEAR EASTERN MATERIAL
IN HELLENISTIC AND ROMAN LITERATURE

M. L. West

IF I had proposed to speak about Near Eastern material in an earlier
period of Greek literature, I know that I would have had to contend
with a measure of defensive scepticism on the part of a classicist audience.
I believe that I could persuade you that there is a substantial eastern
element in the oldest stratum of Greek mythology, in some of the poetic
forms of the early archaic period, in the theology and natural philosophy
of the seventh and sixth centuries. But I am well aware that many classi-
cists, taught (and rightly so) to admire the Greek Achievement, but
knowing little or nothing of the other peoples of antiquity, have felt a
deep-rooted antagonism to suggestions that the Greeks could have owed
anything important to outside influences. This Hellenic solipsism has a
historical cause. For centuries no ancient literatures were known or
imagined besides the Greek, Latin, and Hebrew; there was no archae-
ology, knowledge of the ancient world came from literature alone; and
so the Greek, Latin, and Hebrew literatures had to be explained from
themselves and each other. The long tradition of these studies imposed
blinkers upon the torchbearers. Then, in the nineteenth century, in-
creasing knowledge of barbarian civilizations awakened a hydra: an
exaggerated Panorientalism, its multiple heads peering at the world with
dim, untrained eyes, each supposing its vision perfect. The monster
was soon disposed of by the parching flame of a sternly negative critical
reaction. But as the archaeologists and orientalists year by year reclaim
more from the lost kingdoms of the east, we become able to see ever more
clearly and to demonstrate ever more precisely how much both of good
and evil Greece owed to the constant stimulation of those highly
sophisticated, urbanized cultures.

When it comes to the Hellenistic period, there should be less initial resistance. This was a time when Greece and the orient physically overlapped; when what we call Greek literature was often produced by men of non-Greek origin on non-Greek soil, in cities where Hellenes and barbarians jostled together in the streets; when Egyptians, Syrians, Babylonians could write the histories of their own countries in Greek, and find interested readers; when foreign literature was being translated into Greek, from the sacred books of the Hebrews to Egyptian historical romance. And through this Hellenistic world, the Orontes flowed into the Tiber. Rome accepted the Asiatic Great Mother, Isis, Sarapis, Babylonian astrology. It is hardly to be expected that the heterogeneous set of manifestations that we call literature should run through such a landscape like a system of pure streams issuing from some ancient fountain and untouched by their present surroundings. In fact, many points of contact with Near Eastern literatures have been observed in individual works or genres. But oddly enough, there seems to be no general survey of the subject. This is what I offer you now; though my time is limited, and I must to some extent content myself with hints and pointers.

I want you to listen carefully to two brief translations from ancient literature. Here is the first.

> On an elephant's ear a mosquito
> With wings all aflutter alighted
> And foolishly said, "I will fly away
> For my weight I am sure you cannot support."
> But he smiled in amusement, and thus replied:
> "I was neither aware of your flying down,
> Nor of when you fly off, O mosquito."

Here is the second:

> A *mosquito*, as it settled on an elephant,
> Said, "Brother, did I press your side? I will make [off] at the
>   watering-place."
> The elephant replied to the *mosquito*,
> "I do not care whether you get on — what is it to have you? —
> Nor do I care whether you get off."

You may have guessed that these are two alternative versions of a single text. If so, you will have been mistaken. The first was the eleventh poem of Mesomedes, a freedman of Hadrian, Cretan by origin, who has left us

thirteen short pieces in simple lyric metres. His name is familiar to students of ancient Greek music, because three of his poems have been preserved in medieval manuscripts together with musical notation.[1] The second version that I read was W. G. Lambert's translation of a text on an Assyrian tablet dating from 716 B.C.[2] In fairness I must mention that the word which he renders "mosquito" is a *hapax legomenon*. The meaning assumed is a guess, but the story demands that it should be a very light creature. At all events, we are dealing with a virtually identical joke.

It is a long way from the Babylon of the eighth century B.C. to the Rome of the second century A.D. But to some extent we are in a position to bridge the gap. The Assyrian tablet contains a series of pithy anecdotes and sayings; in many of them the speakers are animals. Professor Lambert recognizes that they are popular in nature. To explain the appearance of one of them in Greek, he suggests that after the fall of the Assyrian empire they circulated through the medium of Aramaic. This is an extremely plausible hypothesis. Aramaic was the common language of the western provinces of the Persian empire. We know from Aramaic papyri dating from the fifth century B.C. that by that period there were communities of Aramaic-speaking Jews in Upper Egypt. We know from the same source that they had with them a popular romance of Assyrian origin, the story of Aḥiqar.[3] This book, which was perhaps the first to become an international best seller — it was translated into Greek, Syriac, Ethiopic, Armenian, Arabic, and Slavonic — has a narrative framework, but it contains a significant amount of animal fables and proverbs. So we know for a fact that material of this kind, spreading westward from Mesopotamia, was current in Egypt in the period preceding the Greek conquest, and it must have been no less current among the mixed populations of Alexandria and lesser centres.

The story of Aḥiqar was incorporated in the biography of Aesop (the names being changed),[4] and as many as nine or ten of the fables in Aḥiqar have parallels in the Aesopic collection of Babrius.[5] The man who drew up the first known collection of Aesopic fables was Demetrius

---

[1] Text of the poems in E. Heitsch, *Die griechischen Dichterfragmente der römischen Kaiserzeit*, with bibliography.

[2] *Babylonian Wisdom Literature* (Oxford 1960) 217f.

[3] A. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Oxford 1923) 204–248.

[4] Cf. already J. Zündel, *RhM* n.s. 5 (1847) 450ff; a detailed study by R. Smend, *Zeitschr. für die alttestamentl. Wissenschaft* Beiheft 13 (1908) 57–125.

[5] B. E. Perry, *Babrius and Phaedrus* (Loeb), p. LX.

of Phalerum; we cannot say at what period of his life he did it, but it may well have been during his residence at Alexandria after his expulsion from the regency of Athens in 307 B.C.[6] Other collections were made in the centuries that followed, some in verse, like Babrius, others in prose, and they probably drew heavily on Demetrius besides adding other fables that were in oral circulation. Among them we meet again the Babylonian joke about the mosquito, though it now alights not on the ear of an elephant but on the horn of a bull.[7] We may assume, then, that Mesomedes came to know it not from any proficiency in cuneiform studies, but as something that was current in Greek, whether orally or in written form, and whether or not it was attached to the name of Aesop. All Mesomedes did was to make it into a comic song.[8]

One of the commonest literary pastimes of the Hellenistic age was the versification of anecdotes and jokes. A book of them was compiled by Machon, a contemporary of Callimachus who has to some extent e-merged from the valley of the shadow thanks to a recent edition by Mr Gow. Many of the epigrams in the Palatine Anthology belong in the same category. Few epigrams are more famous than the one by Euenus about the vine's revenge on the goat, κἤν με φάγῃς ἐπὶ ῥίζαν, so pungently translated by Sir William Marris:

> Ay, gnaw me to my root
> And yet will I bear fruit
> For a libation, goat,
> When priests shall cut thy throat.[9]

Euenus was copying Leonidas of Tarentum, who had written a more ponderous epigram on the same subject. Leonidas was using a popular fable which we find in the story of Aḥiqar:

"O my boy! thou art like the gazelle who was eating the roots of the

---

[6] The arguments of Perry that it was during his regency (*TAPA* 93 [1962] 308) do not seem to me very substantial.

[7] Aesop. 235 Halm = 140 Hausrath = 137 Perry = 189 Chambry[2]; Babrius 84; cf. Perry, *Babrius and Phaedrus*, p. xxxii.

[8] I may also mention his tenth poem — another mildly entertaining but to our taste empty anecdote. A swan was stuck fast on a frozen river. A passing goat-herd set out towards it intending to kill it; but the sun melted the ice, the goat-herd fell through, and the swan flew away rejoicing. This is very similar in type to an anecdote from the same Assyrian tablet as the elephant story:

> A mongoose, out of the way of a dog, [entered] a drainpipe.
> When the dog jumped [it got wedged] in the opening of the pipe
> And let the mongoose escape from the pipe.

[9] *Anth. Pal.* 9.75; *The Oxford Book of Greek Verse in Translation* (1938) 634.

madder, and it said to her, 'Eat of me today and take thy fill, and tomorrow they will tan thy hide in my roots.'" [10]

The story also appears in the Aesopic tradition.[11] Clearly it did not get there from the epigrammatists. On the contrary, the epigrammatists were versifying a popular fable that they found in oral circulation.

That there should be more than one epigram recounting the same story is a typical phenomenon in the Anthology. There exist five epigrams — by Dioscorides, Alcaeus of Messene, one of the Antipaters, a pseudo-Simonides, and Antistius — on the subject of a *gallos*, a eunuch priest of Cybele, who, while wandering on Mt Ida or sheltering in a cave, encounters a lion. Frightened out of his wits, he bangs his timbrel, and the animal runs away.[12] In most of the poems he afterwards makes a dedication to his goddess. What is a *gallos*? The title does not appear in Greek until Hellenistic times, but it comes ultimately from the Sumerian *gala* or *kalû*-priest, whose eunuch character is indicated by the fact that he speaks, when he speaks, in the so-called Emesal dialect, otherwise reserved for women and female deities. We may recall how Attis in Catullus, after castrating himself, goes adroitly into the feminine gender.[13] In a collection of Sumerian sayings dating from the first half of the second millennium B.C. — a thousand years earlier than anything I have mentioned so far — there occurs the following anecdote:

As the saying goes: After the *kalû*-priest had come close to a lion in the desert, on the road, in Irimma, (as one approaches) toward the Inanna-gate, he slapped the pottery-lion at the side of the temple, (saying): "What was your brother doing in the desert?" [14]

The point of the story is, unfortunately, obscure. Perhaps it lies in the humour of the *gala* being bold enough to speak to the pottery-lion, when the encounter with the real lion must have terrified him more than it would a normal man. Other sayings concerning the *gala* seem to

---

[10] Leonidas epigr. 32 Gow–Page = *Anth. Pal.* 9.99; Arabic Aḥiqar 8.4, trans. J. Rendel Harris (*The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, ed. R. H. Charles [Oxford 1913] II 769). The Armenian version has a goat. The corresponding part of the tale is not preserved in the Aramaic papyrus.

[11] 404 Halm = 374 Perry = 339 Ch.² (cf. Babr. p. 164 Crusius); 404b Halm = Aphthonius 37 (II 150 Hsr.).

[12] *Anth. Pal.* 6.217–220 = "Simonides" 2, Alcaeus 21, Antipater 64, Dioscorides 16 Gow–Page; Antistius *Anth. Pal.* 6.237.

[13] 63.8ff; cf. 27 *notha mulier*. References to the *gala* having a son (E. I. Gordon, *Sumerian Proverbs* [Philadelphia 1959] 248, 482) are perhaps satirical.

[14] T. Jacobsen in Gordon (see preceding note) 484.

satirize his rather absurd self-importance and his tendency to see the most trivial things that happen to him as divine portents.[15] And so in some of the Greek epigrams, he bangs his drum out of sheer terror, and then makes his dedication as if his goddess had saved him.[16]

The fable, used as a polite admonition, came to Greece long before the Hellenistic age.[17] Examples may be found in Hesiod, Archilochus, Semonides, and many others. But its appearance in the Hellenistic period in new and specifically oriental forms suggests a renewal of direct contact with Near Eastern society at the popular level. Callimachus in his fourth *Iambus* tells what he says is an old Lydian story of a quarrel between two trees, a laurel and an olive. They are arguing about which of them is the more important, and they refer to the various uses to which men put them, and to the place they occupy in religious usage. That Callimachus says it is an old Lydian story is not in itself a certain proof of barbarian origin. But in fact this kind of debate between two nonhuman rivals is a standard form in Babylonian literature, going back to Sumerian times. We have two examples of debates between different varieties of tree. Here too the quarrel is put "in former days," and the general tone and manner are like Callimachus, though of course without his sophisticated wit. Here are some extracts from the Callimachus:[18]

> Foolish o[live . . . (the laurel speaks)
> What house does not have me at its door?
> What seer, what sacrificer, does not carry me?
> The Pythian priestess seats herself on laurel
> And sings of laurel and her floor is laurel . . .
> And I for my part go to feasts and dances
> Of Pythaïsts; and I am made a prize . . .

And the olive in the course of its reply says:

> What has the laurel for fruit? What use to us?
> Eat it not, drink it not, use it not for unguent.

---

[15] Jacobsen, 483, 484.

[16] In Dioscorides it is "some god" that prompts him to bang it, but only the later Antistius makes it Cybele herself.

[17] Cf. K. Meuli, *Herkunft und Wesen der Fabel* (Basel 1954); M. Nøjgaard, *La Fable antique* I (Copenhagen 1964) 431ff; Perry, *Babrius and Phaedrus*, introduction; P. Walcot, *Hesiod and the Near East* (Cardiff 1966) 89f.

[18] Frag. 194.18, 24–27, 32–33, 73–74.

And here is some of the Babylonian dispute between the tamarisk and the palm, from tablets of different dates from about 1700 to about 1000 B.C.

The Tamarisk opened his mouth and addressed the Palm,
"Consider what items of your equipment are to be found in the palace.
It is from my dish that the king eats. It is from my bread-basket
That the warriors eat . . .
    I am the exorcist and purify the temple.

    ·   ·   ·   ·   ·   ·

Where I am not present the king does not libate . . .
My rites are performed, and my twigs are heaped up on the ground . . ."

And the palm in the course of its speech says:

> You, Tamarisk, are a useless tree.
> What are your branches? Wood without fruit![19]

And then the palm, just like the olive in Callimachus, goes on to praise the qualities of its own fruit. There could hardly be a clearer case of the passage of Near Eastern material into Greek literature. When we collect other echoes of the motif of a dispute between trees, we see that, reduced in scale as they are, they fill in the picture in a way now familiar: they occur in the Book of Judges, in the Aramaic Aḥiqar, and in the seemingly all-embracing Aesopic tradition.[20] We saw the same kind of development in the case of the epigrams of Leonidas (on the vine and the goat) and Dioscorides and the others (on the *gallos* and the lion). Foreign popular lore has become Greek popular lore, and then been taken up by elevated poetry.

    I say "foreign," because in most cases it is impossible to be precise about sources. There is one Egyptian example of a dispute of the kind I have been discussing; it was in use as a school text by the twenty-second Dynasty (950–730) and is probably older in origin. It is an argument between the stomach and the head. It too got into the Aesopic tradition, and it has had an extensive history since.[21] It is possible that

---

[19] Lambert (above, n. 2) 150ff. The text was compared with the Callimachus by Diels, *Internationale Wochenschrift für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Technik* 4 (1910) 993–1002.

[20] Judges 9.8ff; Aramaic Aḥiqar col. XI lines 165f; Aesop. 124, 179, 385 Halm, 233, 239, 263, 324 Hsr., 70, 213, 413 Perry, 101, 143, 324 Ch.²; Babrius 64. Compare also S. Schott, *Altägyptische Liebeslieder* (Zürich 1950) 58–61.

[21] E. Brunner-Traut, *Altägyptische Märchen* (Düsseldorf–Köln 1963) 126; A. Erman–A. M. Blackman, *The Ancient Egyptians* (Harper Torchbook ed., 1966) 174; Aesop. 197 Halm = 132 Hsr. = 130 Perry = 159 Ch.², cf. Livy 2.32; H. Gombel, *Die Fabel "Vom Magen und den Gliedern" in der Weltliteratur*, Zeitschr. für Romanische Philologie, Beiheft 80 (1934).

further Egyptian examples may turn up. But at present the type seems
to be much more characteristic of Mesopotamian literature. Sometimes
the debate is between adversaries of a nonmaterial nature. There is a
Sumerian story of a debate between Summer and Winter.[22] Again there
is an Aesopic parallel: a debate between Winter and Spring.[23] And again
the idea is taken up in elevated poetry, in a short and feeble piece by
Bion of Smyrna (frag. 2 Gow) in which the virtues of the seasons are
compared. The speakers in the dialogue are not the seasons themselves
but rustics. One asks the other which of the four seasons he prefers, and
suggests an advantage that each one possesses. The other replies that
mortals ought not to pass judgment on the works of God; all the seasons
are holy and sweet. But actually, he finds that the sun roasts him in sum-
mer, autumn is a season of decay, and in winter it snows and he is liable
to chills; so he likes spring best of all.

Ennius in one of his *Saturae* presented a contentious debate between
Life and Death.[24] And it is not without relevance that the two other
Ennian satires of whose contents we have any knowledge consisted of
Aesopic fables.[25] Ennius, like his successors in the rather heterogeneous
field of *satura*, Lucilius, Horace, and Varro, was drawing on the popular
wisdom of the period. Some of it found expression in the homilies of
soapbox philosophers; we remember that Horace claimed to have been
influenced by the *Bionei sermones*, and that Varro's satires represented
a literary form associated with Menippus of Gadara, a man of Phoenician
birth. There is no question of Roman writers being directly influenced
by literature other than Greek and Roman. But, whether or not they
were aware of it, they were sometimes using material of barbarian
origin and great antiquity. We shall find more evidence for this later.

Menippus was a Cynic, one of the more significant of the popular
philosophies. The books in which the Cynic outlook on life was em-
bodied included a collection of ethical sayings and *gnomai* ascribed to
the great fifth-century writer Democritus. To what extent they were
actually culled from Democritus' voluminous works is a question on
which scholars have disagreed widely. But it does seem to be the case
that their arrangement and presentation was the product of a Cynic

---

[22] S. N. Kramer, *The Sumerians* (Chicago 1963) 218–220.
[23] 414 Halm = 297 Hsr. = 271 Perry = 346 Ch.[2]
[24] Quintilian 9.2.36 (Enn. *Sat.* 20 Vahlen).
[25] Gell. 2.29 (Enn. *Sat.* 21ff V.), cf. Babr. 88, Avianus *Fab.* 21; Varro *L.L.*
7.35 (Enn. *Sat.* 65 V.), cf. Hdt. 1.141, Aesop. 27 Halm = 11 Hsr., Perry = 24
Ch.[2], Babr. 9.

milieu, and that some unauthentic material found its way in.[26] Certain of the sayings, some preserved in Greek, some in Arabic tradition, are identical with sayings of Aḥiqar. Examples:

The tail of a dog gives him meat, his voice gets him blows.
Do not allow anyone to tread on your heel today, lest he tread on your
    neck tomorrow.
Be not over-sweet, lest thou be swallowed down, nor over-bitter, lest thou
    be spat out.[27]

Such agreements between Democritus and Aḥiqar were noticed in antiquity. Clement, engaged in arguing the unoriginality of Greek philosophy and literature, writes that "Democritus has adopted the Babylonian ethical discourses; for he is said to have translated the stele of Akikaros and numbered it among his own writings."[28] We must not take the word "translated" too literally; it is a characteristic exaggeration in Jewish-Christian accusations of plagiarism. All we can infer is that there was a book under Democritus' name which someone found to have material in common with Aḥiqar.

Clement goes on to quote a passage which may have come from the preamble to the collection of sayings. Democritus is made to claim unsurpassed wisdom for himself, having spent eighty years in foreign lands studying under learned men. The philosopher from Abdera was of course no more responsible for this than Theophrastus was responsible for the preface to his *Characters*, where he is made to claim that he is now ninety-nine years old, has consorted with men of all kinds, and now proposes to pass on the fruits of his experience. I cannot enter into the question whether the *Characters* in their present form were written by Theophrastus.[29] But it is certain that the preface is not earlier than the third century A.D.[30] The preface given to the chrestomathy of Democritean and pseudo-Democritean maxims may have been composed somewhat earlier. The literary device of investing a work of improving character with the authority of an exceptionally long-lived and

[26] Z. Stewart, *HSCP* 63 (1958) 179ff.
[27] Rendel Harris (above, n. 10) 716f.
[28] *Strom.* 1.69 = Democr. 68B299 D.-K.
[29] In view of the manner in which characters are defined and discussed in other Peripatetic writings (e.g., *Eudemian Ethics* 3, Ariston of Ceos frag. 14), I find it incredible that Theophrastus should have chosen to deal with each one in isolation, with no theoretical context, and to press them into such a stereotyped form of exposition. I suspect that we have to do with a Hellenistic compilation in which Theophrastean material was redistributed under single headings.
[30] See P. Steinmetz, *Theophrast, Charaktere*, II (1962) 24–32.

experienced and famous sage is a very ancient Egyptian idea. We find it
already in the *Instruction of Ptahhotep*, composed not later than the
beginning of the second millennium. This work purports to be the
advice given by the vizier of a king who lived in the twenty-fifth century.
Being now 110 years of age, he desires to pass on to his son the wisdom
he has acquired in the course of his life.[31] Such *Instructions*, often put
in the mouths of viziers or kings who can be shown not to have composed
them, were one of the main literary genres in Egypt. They went on
being composed at least into the Persian period, and read and copied at
least down to the first century A.D. In principle there is no difficulty in
the hypothesis that the type of the Aged Sage preface was derived from
this tradition.

That a Greek literary form might be influenced, indeed largely in-
spired, by Egyptian literature is shown by the case of romance. The
extant Greek romances show a considerable interest in Egypt, and themes
and motifs that admit of comparison with Egyptian fiction. I do not wish
to develop this rather large topic, where the ground has been skilfully
stepped out by the Oxford Professor of Egyptology.[32] In any case, in-
structive as the detailed study of individual genres may be, I am more
concerned in this survey to point to material that was not bound to a
particular genre but might be used in a variety of forms. For example,
the story of the *gallos* and the lion appears not only in epigrams in the
Anthology but in a slightly different form in one of Varro's satires.[33]
An animal fable might appear in a collection of animal fables, as in the
Assyrian tablet I started from and in "Aesop," or as one element in a
connected moral discourse, as in Aḥiqar, Hesiod, and Horace.

It could even be built up into the travesty of an epic. There is a story,
well attested in the Aesopic tradition,[34] that a mouse made friends with
a frog and entertained him to dinner. The frog returned the invitation
and led the way to his pool; but the mouse did not know how to swim.
So the frog tied the mouse's foot to his own and dived. The mouse felt
himself drowning and cried, "I shall have my revenge on you even
when I am dead." The prophecy was quickly fulfilled, for as the dead

---

[31] Z. Žába, *Les Maximes de Ptahhotep* (Prague 1956); Erman–Blackman
54–65; J. A. Wilson in *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, ed. J. B. Pritchard (ed. 2,
Princeton 1955) 412–414 (hereafter *ANET*).

[32] J. W. B. Barns, *Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der österr. National-
bibliothek* n.s. 5 (1956) 29–36. But we must not forget the existence of a tradition
of romance in other languages, as evidenced by Aḥiqar.

[33] Ὄνος λύρας, frag. 364 Buecheler.

[34] *Vita Aesopi* (GW) 133 = *fab.* 302 Hsr. = 384 Perry; 298 Halm =
244 Ch.² = Babr. 191 Crusius.

mouse lay floating on the surface of the pool, a raven swooped down and carried it off, with the frog still tied to it. This story was taken by a Hellenistic joker as the basis for an epic *Battle of Frogs and Mice*, which came to be accepted as a piece written by Homer in one of his lighter moods.[35] The meeting of the frog and the mouse is amplified into a heroic encounter in which each gives his pedigree and the frog cordially summons the mouse to his royal home. (The mouse's prior entertainment of the frog is eliminated.) The mouse climbs on the frog's back, and they set off; but when they get out away from the bank, he begins to be afraid, tightens his grip round the frog's body, and prays to the gods to bring him to land. The passage is reminiscent of Moschus' *Europa*, and the poet actually mentions Europa on the bull by way of contrast.

It is the appearance of a watersnake that makes the frog dive. The mouse struggles frantically, but in vain, and as he drowns he calls out that the frog will not escape the just eye of God. At this point the story takes a quite different turn from the fable. Instead of dead mouse and live frog being seized by a bird, a second mouse on the bank takes the news of what has happened back to the other mice. The father of the dead mouse exhorts them to make war on the frogs. An arming scene follows; the frogs make preparations on their side; the gods discuss the situation, and agree on a policy of noninvolvement, in case they should be wounded; Zeus thunders; and the battle goes forward. After a ferocious struggle, Zeus takes pity on the suffering frogs and sends a battalion of crabs to put a stop to the fighting. They bite the tails and feet of the mice, who retire in disorderly haste.

[35] It is first mentioned in extant literature by Martial 14.183 and Statius *Silv.* 1 *praef.*, and Wackernagel has proved that it cannot have been composed earlier than the first century B.C. (*Sprachl. Untersuchungen zu Homer* [Göttingen 1916] 188–196). The tradition that it was by Pigres can be accorded no credence in the face of the linguistic evidence; it may be an invention of Ptolemy Chennos (Crusius, *Philologus* 54 [1895] 734ff, and 58 [1899] 577ff). The battle of mice alluded to in Plut. *Agesil.* 15 need not have been that with the frogs; see Crusius (1899), p. 581. It has often been stated that Archelaus showed a frog and a mouse playing at Homer's feet on his famous relief (between 150 and 50 B.C., perhaps c. 125). In fact the frog was added by Pacetti in 1787/1788, and removed in 1908. The earliest engraving of the relief, made by Galostrucci in 1658, shows two mice, nibbling at a papyrus roll. One mouse and the roll are still there; and Doris Pinkwart claims to see the ghostly traces of the second mouse (*Antike Plastik* 4 [1965] 59). The idea that there was an allusion to the *Batrachomyomachia* originated at the time when there were still two mice, or thought to be (G. Cuperus, *Apotheosis vel consecratio Homeri* [Amsterdam 1683] 46). It was no doubt responsible for Pacetti's restoration; and it lingers with Pinkwart. No such allusion is to be seen. Instead, compare Juv. 3.207, *et diuina opici rodebant carmina mures*, Ariston epigr. 3 Gow–Page (*Anth. Pal.* 6.303), Lucian *Adu. indoctum* 17.

It is not without reason that I have described the way in which the poet has extended the original fable. Other poems of the same type are mentioned in late sources as being ascribed to Homer: a *Battle of Spiders*, a *Battle of Starlings*, a *Battle of Cranes*.[36] There is no hint of the existence of any such poems before the Hellenistic age. But in Egypt there had been since before 3000 B.C. a tradition of pictures, probably associated with stories, in which animals of all kinds were humorously represented as engaging in human activities. We see a monkey, a crocodile, a lion, and a donkey playing musical instruments, a lion and a gazelle playing draughts, foxes and cats peacefully herding the creatures that are normally their prey, a swallow climbing a ladder into a tree where a hippopotamus is gathering figs, a hippopotamus brewing beer with a sow, whose offspring is being carried by a fox in a shoulder sling. Thirty-seven types have been listed by the great expert on these scenes, Emma Brunner-Traut.[37] Among them there are certain well-defined themes, some of which can be illustrated from Aesopic fables and others from modern African folktales. The learned writer argues that these scenes are representations of tales about animals which were current in oral tradition.

And now I cannot do better than to quote her. "While the story-illustrations are practically all preserved without texts, we are fortunate enough to be able to reconstruct one ancient Egyptian animal story from the pictures with a high degree of probability: the War of the Cats and the Mice. Pictorial traces of this story are preserved from the fourteenth century B.C. down to the seventh/eighth century A.D. in such number and eloquence that it is not difficult to see how they run parallel with narratives that not only survive in present-day Egypt but wandered from Egypt to various neighbouring lands and were there written down."[38] She is referring to versions and allusions recorded in Arabia in the tenth century, in Persia in the fourteenth, and current in the orient in modern times.[39] The Egyptian pictures show (1) an army of mice

---

[36] Ps.-Hdt. *Vit. Hom.* 24; *Suda* 3.526.6, 527.28 Adler. The *Battle of Cranes* perhaps never existed; it may derive from a misunderstanding of some author who, like Strabo 2.1.9 p. 70, used the expression γερανομαχία in referring to *Il.* 3.3ff.

[37] "Aegyptische Tiermärchen," *Zeitschr. für ägypt. Sprache und Altertumskunde* 80 (1955) 12–32; cf. her *Altägyptische Märchen*, 44–68; *Altägyptische Tiergeschichte und Fabel* (1968).

[38] *Altägyptische Märchen*, 59.

[39] Details in her article "Der Katzenmäuserkrieg im Alten und Neuen Orient," *Zeitschr. der deutschen morgenländ. Gesellschaft* 104 (1954) 347–351. Add the twelfth-century tragic parody by Theodorus Prodromus, the Κατομυομαχία (ed. H. Ahlborn, with the *Batrachomyomachia*, Berlin 1968).

attacking a fortress held by the cats; they are led by a king mouse who drives a chariot drawn by dogs or monkeys and who otherwise resembles the Egyptian pharaoh as he is shown in battle scenes; (2) cat and mouse in single combat; (3) a cat surrendering to the mouse pharaoh; (4) cats enslaved to mice — bringing them food, assisting with the toilet, and so on; (5) a delegation of mice bearing the flag of truce and approaching the cat king in submissive postures.

It would hardly be surprising if the war of the cats and mice, a theme that was alive in Egypt throughout the Greek and Roman periods, became known to the Greeks and Romans, as so many other oriental animal stories did. In fact a war of *weasels* and mice forms the subject of an Aesopic fable, and Phaedrus says it was painted in all the taverns.[40] The substitution of weasels for cats was natural; they were more familiar to the Greeks as mousers. Now, a war of mice against cats or weasels is altogether more natural than a war of mice against frogs. Furthermore, the poet of the *Battle of Frogs and Mice* actually alludes (128) to an earlier occasion on which the mice killed a weasel and skinned him for shield hides. The temporary victory of the mice over the cats is a feature of the Egyptian pictures as well as of the later oriental versions of the story. I conclude that, while the poet took as his starting point the fable of the frog and the mouse, the idea of extending it into a heroic battle of species was suggested by the old Egyptian folktale of the battle of mice and cats.[41]

I have mentioned Roman satire as an area of literature where stock material from Hellenistic popular philosophy, sometimes derived from Near Eastern thought, often finds a home. There is one of the Egyptian *Instruction* texts that scholars have found it natural to label a "satire," and a year or two ago, having to set a piece for translation into Latin satiric hexameters in a prize examination, I chose some extracts from it.

The itinerant merchant sails downstream to the Delta to get trade for himself. When he has done more than his arms can do, the gnats have slain him, the sand flies have made him utterly miserable. Then there is inflammation . . .

[40] Aesop. 291 Halm = 174 Hsr. = 165 Perry = 237 Ch.²; Babr. 31; Phaedr. 4.6.

[41] So far as I know, the first to connect the *Batrachomyomachia* with the Egyptian scenes was R. Eisler, *Orphisch-Dionysische Mysteriengedanken in der christl. Antike* (Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg 1922/1923, II. Teil, Leipzig and Berlin 1925) 42. For a thorough treatment by an Egyptologist who made the comparison independently, and who was more fully acquainted with the material than Eisler was, see S. Morenz, "Aegyptische Tierkriege und die Batrachomyomachie," in *Festschrift Bernhard Schweitzer* (1954) 87–94.

The tenant-farmer, his reckonings go on for ever. His voice is louder than the *abu*-bird . . .

Let me tell thee also of the fish-catcher. He is more miserable than any other profession. Behold, there is nothing in his work on the river, mingled with the crocodiles. If there is a reduction in his quota, then there is complaint . . .

Behold, there is no profession free of a boss — except for the scribe: he is the boss.[42]

My fellow examiners were surprised that something so Horatian in tone could come from Egyptian papyrus texts of about 1300 B.C. The similarity of course is a matter of manner and style rather than of specific content. But in another case a closer comparison is possible. Lucretius, in a passage in his third book (1060ff) which has often been labelled "satiric," is trying to destroy the fear of death, which, he claims, is the source of the turbulent cares that harass mankind. It is ridiculous to protest at the thought of death, he says. Even Ancus died, and Xerxes, and Scipio, just like the meanest slave. Homer died, Democritus took his own life, even Epicurus came to rest. If men understood the reasons for the weight that lies on their minds, they would not try to escape it by rushing about the world as they do now. "Out from his great mansion goes the man tired of being at home, and suddenly he returns, feeling no better for being out. He drives headlong to his country house as if he were going to help put out a fire, but yawns as soon as he reaches the door, or sinks into slumber and seeks oblivion, or else hurries back to the city." Why this malaise? Better to contemplate nature, and overcome the fear of death that causes a restless life.

This is but one classic example of a theme which Ennius touched on in his *Iphigenia* and which we can follow in Horace and Seneca.[43] In one place Seneca remarks that some people, after having changed their goals so often that nothing new remains, have been driven to suicide.

We can trace a form of this presumably Hellenistic commonplace back to Babylon. A satiric text of which copies have been found in Ashurbanipal's library and elsewhere, and which was probably composed

---

[42] Erman–Blackman, 68ff; *ANET*, 432ff. The translation quoted is from the latter.

[43] Enn. *Trag.* 234ff V.; Hor. *Sat.* 2.7.28, cf. *Epist.* 1.8.12, 1.11.27, *Carm.* 2.16.18; Sen. *De tranq. animi* 2.11–13, *Epist.* 104.14, cf. 28 and 55.

in the period 1100–700 B.C., consists of a dialogue between a master and his slave.[44]

["Slave, listen to me."] "Here I am, sir, here [I am."]
["Quickly, fetch me the] chariot and hitch it up so that I can drive to the
                                                                palace."
["Drive, sir, drive. All your wishes] will be [realized] for you;
[The king] will be gracious to you."
["No, slave, I] will by no means drive to the palace."
["Do not drive,] sir, do not drive.
[To a place of danger he] will send you,
In a [land] which you do not know he will let you be captured.
He will make you suffer agony [day and] night."

The pattern is repeated in nine successive sections: the master declares he is going to do something, the slave commends his decision; he changes his mind, he will not do it, and the slave again praises his sound sense. He will/will not have dinner; drive to the country to hunt; set up a home and have children; lead a revolution; have a love affair; sacrifice to his god; set up as a moneylender; perform a public benefit. No, he will not perform a public benefit.

"Do not perform, sir, do not perform.
Go up on to the ancient ruin heaps and walk about;
See the skulls of high and low.
Which is the malefactor, and which is the benefactor?"
"Slave, listen to me." "Here I am, sir, here I am."
"What, then, is good?"
"To have my neck and your neck broken
And to be thrown into the river is good.
Who is so tall as to ascend to the heavens?
Who is so broad as to compass the underworld?"
"No, slave, I will kill you and send you first."
"And my master would certainly not outlive me by even three days."

There is some uncertainty about the point of the final reply; it may mean that death comes as certainly to a master as to a slave.

In another moralizing text, also from Ashurbanipal's library, we are again told that there are limits to what man can achieve, so it is best for him to look to his work and avoid worry.[45]

---

[44] Lambert, 139ff. In order to read a continuous text, I filled gaps in Lambert's translation from that by R. H. Pfeiffer in *ANET*, 438.
[45] Lambert, 109.

[Whatever] men do does not last for ever,
Mankind and their achievements alike come to an end.
[As for] you, offer prayers to (your) god . . .
Take thought for your livestock, remember the planting.
For your first-born son and daughter . . .
Cause your [first-born] son and daughter to . . .
Do [not] let evil sleep afflict your heart;
Banish misery and suffering from your side;
Misery and suffering produce a dream.

And now Virgil (*G.* 2.458–459, 467–471; 493–498, 513–515):

O happy (if they recognize their fortune)
The farmers! . . .
Carefree their rest and innocent their life,
Diversely rich; on broad estates their leisure,
Caverns and living pools and cool valleys
And lowing herds and soft, shaded slumbers . . .
Happy is he who knows the country gods,
Pan, old Silvanus, and the sister Nymphs.
By public office and the cloth of kings
Unmoved, and strife that shivers brothers' trust,
Danube in league and Dacians on the march,
And Rome, and kingdoms that must fall . . .
The farmer turns the soil with crooked plough:
Here his year's work, hence he maintains his country,
His little heirs, his bullocks and his herds.

Well, this kind of mood may be a natural reaction to the hurly-burly
of a big city. But the hurly-burly of big cities was something that con-
tinued in existence in the Near East throughout the centuries that
separate Augustus from Ashurbanipal. Are we in a position to say that
there was no continuing tradition of philosophic resignation, and praise
of the security of simplicity? This is not the only case in Augustan
poetry where reflections and attitudes that we are accustomed to think
of as typically Graeco-Roman can be traced back beyond the Hellenistic
world to earlier oriental settings. Take one of Horace's most famous and
characteristic odes (4.7):

The snows have fled: to fields return their grass,
          to trees their tresses;
Earth changes, and the stream below its banks
          subsiding passes;

The Nymphs and Graces venture out unclad
      to lead their dances;
but death . . . the year, with every hour that steals
      our life-day, warns us.
Cold — thaw — spring breezes: summer follows close,
      to die in fulness
'mid autumn's showered fruits; and soon again
      come snow and stillness.
Yet running moons repair the stolen skies:
      we, once we follow
Aeneas, Ancus, Tullus (and his wealth),
      are dust and shadow.
Who knows if heaven, when this day is gone,
      will give another?
Quick, set your spirit up — so much your heir
      shall never gather.
For once you've come to earth, and in his halls
      Minos has judged you,
no use your birth, no use your eloquence,
      no use your virtue.
Diana frees not chaste Hippolytus
      from death's dark chamber,
nor yet can Theseus for Pirithous break
      the chains of slumber.

Life is short, we should enjoy ourselves; Greek elegists tell us the same. They do not, indeed, advise us to cheat our heirs — for Homer and Tyrtaeus, on the contrary, it is important to bequeath an undiminished estate.[46] Cheating the heirs is a common idea in Horace, and we find it nearly two centuries earlier in the Hellenized Jew Jesus ben Sirach, the author of *Ecclesiasticus* (14.4–5):

He that withholdeth from himself gathereth for another,
    And a stranger shall satiate himself with his goods.
He that harmeth his own soul, to whom will he do good?
    For he hath no delight in his own goods.

This does not necessarily take us outside the world of Greek thought.[47] And when we look for precedents for the antithesis that Horace draws between the eternal cycle of celestial phenomena and the nonrecurring

[46] *Il.* 15.497f; Tyrt. *P. Berol.* 11675 frag. C. ii 5 with my notes in *Zeitschr. für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 1 (1967) 180–181.
[47] In the same chapter Sirach writes (14.18):
      As the leaf that groweth on a luxuriant tree,
        One fadeth and another sprouteth;

5* .

human cycle — earlier precedents, I mean, than Catullus' "Suns can set and rise again" — we can find a precedent of a sort in Bacchylides (3.85ff): "The deep sky is without stain, the water of the sea decayeth not, gold is happiness; but a man may not in grizzled age take back his youth again."[48] Yet in Egyptian poetry of a much earlier date we find a parallel which is not only closer in itself (the sun rising and setting) but altogether more like Horace in tone. A song inscribed in the tomb of a Theban priest, dating from about 1350–1320 B.C., begins thus:[49]

How quiet is this righteous prince! The goodly destiny hath come to pass.
Bodies pass away since the time of the god, and a generation cometh in their place.
Rē showeth himself in the morning, and Atum goeth down in Manun. Men beget, women conceive, and every nose breatheth air — day dawneth, and their children go one and all to their tombs.

The parallelism between human life and the rising and setting sun has a natural origin in Egypt, where from early times the dead man was conceived as accompanying Re into the underworld and through its various mansions. The song continues:

Spend the day merrily, O priest! Put unguent and fine oil together to thy nostrils, and garlands and lotus flowers . . . on the body of thy sister whom thou favourest, as she sitteth beside thee. Set singing and music before thy face. Cast all evil behind thee, and bethink thee of joy, until that day cometh when one reacheth port in the land that loveth silence . . . Spend the day merrily . . .

And in an older text, from a royal tomb of the Middle Kingdom:[50]

I have heard the discourses of Imhotep and Hardedef, with whose words men speak everywhere — what are their habitations now? Their

---

So are the generations of flesh and blood,
One dieth, and another flourisheth.
We cannot fail to be reminded of Mimnermus' use of the Homeric simile.
    The translations of Sirach are from Charles's *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*.
    [48] I should perhaps also mention Ibycus' contrast (frag. 5) between the refreshment of nature each spring and the parching love that afflicts him at every season; and the *Lament for Bion* 99ff.
    [49] Erman–Blackman, 251f.
    [50] Erman–Blackman, 133f; *ANET*, 467.

walls are destroyed, their habitations are no more, as if they had never been.

None cometh from thence that he may tell us how they fare, that he may tell us what they need . . . Be glad, that thou mayest cause thine heart to forget that men will one day beatify thee. Follow thy desire, so long as thou livest. Put myrrh on thine head, clothe thee in fine linen, and anoint thee with the genuine marvels of the things of the god . . . Do what thou requirest upon earth, and vex not thine heart, — until that day of lamentation cometh to thee. Yet He with the Quiet Heart heareth not their lamentation, and cries deliver no man from the underworld.

These songs were apparently sung to the harp at commemoration banquets held in the tomb itself. The occasion was uniquely suitable for the mixture of gentle melancholy, reflection on the death of the great, and the encouragement of pleasure, which is so reminiscent of Horace.

But how could there be a connexion between them and Horace? The idea is not really as farfetched as it might seem. The custom of singing at banquets has remained alive throughout Egypt's history, and many of the basic themes must have been handed down through century after century. In the period of Greek occupation there was every opportunity for them to influence the songs of Greek popular minstrels — just as you will find a large measure of common style and expression in the popular songs of the various countries of western Europe today. We should not forget that for every Horace there were a hundred tavern singers. And when the rare papyrus gives us a glimpse of the kind of thing you might hear in a Greek tavern in Egypt in about the time of Horace, this is what it is:[51]

Spring, winter, summer: these are forever.
The sun sets, night receives its portion.
Seek not to find the sun's or the water's sources,
But to find sources for buying perfume and garlands.
                                        Play me a pipe!
When you see a man dead, or pass a mute gravestone,
You see everyman's mirror. That's what he expected.

    .   .   .   .

Blessed was Midas, and thrice blessed was Cinyras;
But who of them reached Hades with more than an obol?
                                        Play me a pipe!

[51] *P.Oxy.* 1795; Heitsch (above, n. 1) I 38–40, where earlier editions are listed; T. F. Higham, in *Greek Poetry and Life*, Essays presented to Gilbert Murray (1936) 299ff.

We cannot account for Horace's *Odes* simply from the nine lyric poets
of Greece plus his personal inspiration. Another example of the kind
of tradition I am thinking of: in the light poetry of the Hellenistic period
we several times meet the now commonplace motif exemplified in
"Would that I were a blushing rose, that she might lift me in her hands
and lay me on her snowy breast," or "I wish I were a mirror, that you
might ever gaze on me."[52] It occurs in two Attic skolia, which may
well be pre-Hellenistic;[53] and many centuries earlier in Egyptian love
songs. In a collection dating from the New Kingdom we find this:

> Would that I were her seal-ring,
> that [sits] upon [her finger.
> Then she would look after me]
> as something that gives her joy.[54]

You may say that the idea, artificial as it is, might have occurred
independently to love-sick poets of different nations. If it could be
shown to occur in Samoa or somewhere that clearly was cut off from
the Greek world, the possibility would be established; but even if the
possibility were established, I do not know why independent develop-
ment should be judged a priori more likely than historical kinship.

   Listen to Horace again.

> I have made a memorial more lasting than bronze,
> More lofty than mouldering pyramids of kings,
> Such as no gnawing rain, no stormwind blast
> Shall ever ruin, or the numberless
> Chain of years as ages run away.[55]

There is an obvious Greek source which Horace must have had in
mind, Pindar's sixth Pythian ode (5ff): "A Pythian-victor treasurehouse
of song is built for Xenocrates . . . which neither winter rain will crack,
the fierce invading army from booming cloud, nor wind whipped to the
ends of the sea in its ravening fury."[56] But one source does not exclude

---

[52] *Anth. Pal.* 5.84, cf. 83; *Anacreontea* 22.5. (*Anth. Pal.* 15.35 is a Byzantine
imitation of 5.84.)

[53] *Carm. conuiu.* 17–18 Page.

[54] Schott (above, n. 20) 67; cf. Erman–Blackman 244. "Hübsch, dass dies
Motiv schon bei den Aegyptern vorkommt" (Wilamowitz, *Hellenistische
Dichtung* I 120 n. 1).

[55] *Carm.* 3.30.1ff; imitated soon afterwards by Prop. 3.2.17ff.

[56] Cf. also Simon. 26.4–5 Page ἐντάφιον δὲ τοιοῦτον οὔτις εὐρὼς οὔθ' ὁ πανδμάτωρ
ἀμαυρώσει χρόνος. There are other early parallels for the idea that poetry confers
immortality (Sappho 55, Theognis 237ff). In the later part of the ode, Horace
may be imitating Alcman (cf. frag. 148; *CQ* n.s. 15 [1965] 193).

others. Horace speaks of pyramids. Possibly there is nothing very surprising in a poet's taking the pyramids as a symbol of ambitious masonry. But we know Horace more as a craftsman, a shaper of words and phrases, than as an inventor of new images. Before dismissing the pyramids as a matter requiring no further investigation, we should notice that, from the time of the New Kingdom, Egyptian apprentice scribes were made to copy such texts as this:[57]

(Ancient scribes) did not make for themselves pyramids of metal, with the tombstones thereof of iron . . . If there were made for (them) doors and buildings, they are crumbled. Their mortuary service is [*gone*]; their tombstones are covered with dirt; and their graves are forgotten. (But) their names are (still) pronounced because of their books which they made, since they were good and the memory of him who made them (lasts) to the limits of eternity.

Be a scribe, put it in thy heart, that thy name may fare similarly. More effective is a book than a decorated tombstone or an established *tomb-wall* . . . More effective is a book than the house of the builder or tombs in the West. It is better than a (well-)founded castle or a stela in a temple.

Such reflections on the perishability of material edifices appear in the banqueting songs of the Middle and New Kingdoms which I have already quoted: "What are their habitations now? Their walls are destroyed, their habitations are no more, as if they had never been." And I have quoted the Babylonian slave to his master:

> Go up on to the ancient ruin heaps and walk about;
> See the skulls of high and low.
> Which is the malefactor, and which is the benefactor?

And the Greek papyrus skolion that lists rich and powerful men, Xerxes, Midas, Cinyras, who could take nothing with them to Hades. Is it not more than possible that pyramids were a commonplace symbol in this kind of context in the tavern poetry of which the papyrus represents a specimen?

But enough of conjecture. I hope I have said enough to convince you that the Rome which accepted oriental gods and superstitions also accepted from the Near East, through the mediation of the Greek world, a good deal of more harmless mental fodder, fables, commonplaces, points of view, styles of argument, which might be mainly popular in character, but for that very reason could not fail to affect

---

[57] *ANET*, 431f. Compared by H. Fuchs, *ANTIΔΩPON Edgar Salin* (Tübingen 1962) 149–152.

serious poetry. It may be that I have overemphasized the popular, subliterary side. It is a remarkable fact that both the Greeks and the Romans learned from the orient in the Hellenistic period the very sophisticated device of the acrostic, and three specific types of acrostic in particular: the sentence acrostic, the signature or name acrostic, and the alphabetic acrostic. (There are five Babylonian acrostics, and a number of examples in the Old Testament.)[58] One cannot always say by what means a non-Greek motif found its way into the Greek world; there were far too many avenues open. Ferdinand Dümmler wrote in 1894: "Only the strict classical period of the fifth and fourth centuries shows a conscious national exclusiveness, whereas the younger days of the Greek people just as much as the Hellenistic age are characterized by lively cultural and intellectual exchange with the east."[59] It is safer to say that now than it was seventy-four years ago. It is no longer legitimate for the classicist to shut his eyes to its truth, to sweep it under the carpet, to speak of it only briefly and noncommittally, or to take refuge in the smug opinion that if the Greeks did accept anything from others, they so transfigured it that the fact of the borrowing is of negligible importance. The more we can find out about what they borrowed, the better we shall be able to appreciate the extent and the quality of their own contribution. Some of the cases I have discussed may be cases not of borrowing but of independent development. Even then, comparisons are not without value. It must affect our assessment of those developments in the Graeco-Roman world if we know that neighbouring peoples were having similar ideas at the same period or had had them at an earlier period. We live in a fine house; but there is nothing to be gained by refusing to look down the street.

University College, Oxford

---

[58] See Lambert (above, n. 2) 63, 67; R. Marcus, *JNES* 6 (1947) 109–115; for classical acrostics, *RE* s.v. Akrostichis; E. Lobel, *CQ* 22 (1928) 114; J.-M. Jacques, *REA* 62 (1960) 48ff, who cites other literature.
[59] *Archiv für die Gesch. der Philosophie* 7 (1894) 147 = *Kl. Schr.* II 155.

CHRYSALUS AND THE FALL OF TROY
(PLAUTUS, *BACCHIDES* 925–978)

H. D. JOCELYN

THE ancient text from which our two traditions of the *Bacchides* descend [1] seems to have indicated doubts about the authenticity of some of the verses it carried. Accident will not explain the absence of vv. 519a–c, 540–551, 937–940, from the four surviving leaves of the *Bacchides* in the fifth-century "Ambrosian" codex. [2] The third-century scholar Julius Romanus knew of texts which omitted vv. 540–551. [3] It is possible that the first editors of Plautus recorded the differences they found in the manuscript evidence available to them for each comedy and that succeeding editors sometimes made omissions from their texts on the basis of such a record or on that of what they took to be fresh manuscript evidence. Nevertheless early students of the comedies claimed to detect spurious verses in current texts from internal signs; [4] and it could be that some or all of the omissions of verses in the

---

[1] See F. Leo, *Plautinische Forschungen*[2] (Berlin 1912) 1ff, G. Pasquali, *Storia della tradizione e critica del testo*[2] (Florence 1952) 331ff. W. M. Lindsay argued, *The Ancient Editions of Plautus* (Oxford 1904) 35ff, that the Ambrosian text descended directly from Plautus' autograph.

[2] Verses 476–560, 663–699, 922–961 survive, sometimes in a badly damaged state. For the date of the codex see E. A. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores. Part III* (Oxford 1938) 23.

[3] See Charisius, p. 266.8: MEDITATE *Plautus in Bacchidibus:* "*edepol ne tu illorum mores perquam meditate tenes*" (v. 545). *in quibusdam non feruntur* (Ritschl : *ferunt* N : *fuerunt* C). Cf. similar statements in the Euripidean scholia: *Alc.* 818–820 ταῦτα δὲ τὰ τρία ἔν τισιν οὐκ ἔγκειται, *Andr.* 1254 ἐν τοῖς πολλοῖς τῶν ἀντιγράφων οὐ φέρεται ὁ ἴαμβος οὗτος, *Hipp.* 871–873 ἔν τισιν οὐ φέρονται οὗτοι, 1050 ἐν πολλοῖς οὐ φέρεται οὗτος ὁ ἴαμβος, *Or.* 957–959 ἐν ἐνίοις δὲ οὐ φέρονται οἱ τρεῖς στίχοι οὗτοι, 1227–1230 ἐν τῷ ἀντιγράφῳ οὐ φέρονται οὗτοι οἱ δ ἴαμβοι, [καὶ] ἐν ἄλλῳ δέ, 1394 οὗτος ὁ στίχος ἐν πολλοῖς ἀντιγράφοις οὐ γράφεται, *Phoen.* 375 ὁ στίχος οὗτος ἔν τισιν οὐ φέρεται, 1075 ἐν τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀντιγράφοις οὐ φέρεται ὁ στίχος, 1225 οὗτος δὲ οὐ φέρεται ἐν τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀντιγράφοις. It is useless to speculate about the age of the texts which Julius or his source had seen.

[4] See Pliny *NH* 18.107: *pistores Romae non fuere ad Persicum usque bellum . . . artoptam Plautus appellat in fabula quam Aululariam inscripsit, magna ob id certatione eruditorum an is uersus* [v. 400] *poetae sit illius.*

Ambrosian and Palatine traditions, where they are not the result of scribal error, are based on philological reasoning rather than on the external manuscript evidence beloved of conservative critics.[5]

Even before the discovery of the Ambrosian codex, François Guyet[6] had seen that *Bacchides* 519a–c and 512–514 could not have been composed by the one author for the one dramatic utterance and had excluded from the original script vv. 937–942.[7] During the nineteenth century the significance of the *Casina* prologue was perceived, and indubitable signs of scenic manipulation were pointed out in the received text of many of the comedies.[8] The text of the *Bacchides* caused more suspicion and perhaps less agreement among critics than that of any of the others. Few would now hold that its divergences from Plautus' autograph are limited to erroneous words and syllables. The most recent editor, C. Questa,[9] an extremely conservative critic, accepts the doubts raised about vv. 107 (by Ritschl), 377–378 (by Ritschl), 465–466 (by Guyet), 519a–c (by Guyet), 931 (by Kiessling). On the famous monody in which the slave Chrysalus compared his talents with those of the Achaean heroes who besieged Troy and predicted a triumphal outcome for his scheme to rob the old man Nicobulus of $400, Questa writes a desperate note: "canticum ut nobis in libris traditum a Plauto prorsus non profluxit et retractatoris uel potius retractatorum manus pertulit; cum tamen Plautina e spuriis discernere plenum sit aleae opus, librorum scripturam sequi securius duxi."[10] In this article[11] I shall subject to

---

[5] Cf. the reasons for which Aristarchus and Apollonius deleted Aristophanes *Ran.* 1437–1441, 1452–1453: ἀθετεῖ δὲ . . . ᾿Αρίσταρχος, ὅτι φορτικώτεροί εἰσι καὶ εὐτελεῖς, διὰ τοῦτο ὑποπτεύονται. ᾿Απολλώνιος . . . ὅτι οὐ πρὸς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἔχουσί τι. ἐρομένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἑκάτερος μίαν γνώμην λέγει (Schol. V. Ald.). See also the scholia to Euripides, *Med.* 87, *Phoen.* 428, 973.

[6] Guyet's edition of Plautus, which I have not seen, was published in Paris in 1658. Angelo Mai published some of the palimpsest Plautus in 1815.

[7] W. Studemund, in *Festgruss der philologischen Gesellschaft zu Würzburg an die XXVII. Versammlung deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner* (Würzburg 1868) 42, found reasons for the excision of vv. 540–551. The verses are defended by P. Weise, *De Bacchidum plautinae retractatione quae fertur* (diss. Berlin 1883) 13ff, and by Leo, *Pl. Forsch.*[2], p. 131.

[8] See F. Osann, *Analecta critica* (Berlin 1816) 141ff, F. Ritschl, *Parerga zu Plautus und Terenz I* (Leipzig 1845), passim.

[9] *T. Maccius Plautus: Bacchides: nota introduttiva e testo critico di Cesare Questa: traduzione di Luca Canali* (Florence 1965).

[10] See below, pp. 147f, however, for an attempt by Questa to restore part of the monody.

[11] Based on a paper read at Harvard University in March of 1967 and aided by remarks from my audience on that occasion.

systematic criticism the received text of Chrysalus' monody. It should
become apparent that it contains more dubious matter than even nine-
teenth-century sceptics[12] supposed.

The text of scenes viii and ix of Act IV of the *Bacchides*[13] seems
to require that Nicobulus be visible to the spectators while Chrysalus
utters his monody and that during the monody neither Chrysalus nor
Nicobulus shows any awareness of the other's presence. Such a situation
as this is unparalleled and unimaginable in Attic comedy[14] but has for
companion in the extant Latin versions *Mostellaria* III ii.[15] Some stu-
dents[16] regard the monody as being entirely a free composition by
Plautus himself; others[17] see it as developed out of a brief utterance of
the slave in Plautus' original.[18] The content and general style of the
monody are typically Plautine. The allusions to heroic legend have a quite
different structure from those in the now copious remains of Menan-
drian comedy.[19] Such allusions pullulate in the twenty-one "fabulae
Varronianae," some of them so elliptical as to suggest a quite knowledge-
able audience. Representations on works of art[20] and in stage tragedies

---

[12] I shall refer frequently to A. Kiessling, *Analecta plautina* (Index scholarum
Greifswald 1878), G. Brachmann, *De Bacchidum plautinae retractatione scaenica
capita quinque* (Leipziger Studien z. Cl. Phil. 3 [1880]) 88ff, E. Anspach, *De
Bacchidum plautinae retractatione scaenica* (diss. Bonn 1882) 39ff, F. Leo, *T.
Macci Plauti comoediae: Vol. I Amph. Asin. Aul. Bacch. continens* (Berlin
1885), P. Langen, *Plautinische Studien* (Berlin 1886) 264.

[13] The act divisions in modern editions are no older than the Renaissance (see
now C. Questa, "Plauto diviso in atti prima di G. B. Pio," *RCCM* 4 [1962]
209ff). The age of the scene divisions in the manuscripts is disputed (see J.
Andrieu, *Le dialogue antique* [Paris 1954] 89ff). There is none at v. 979.

[14] See G. Burckhardt, *Die Akteinteilung in der neuen griechischen und in der
römischen Komödie* (diss. Basle 1927) 14f, A. Freté, *REL* 8 (1930) 45f, W. Theiler,
Hermes 73 (1938) 269ff, T. B. L. Webster, *Studies in Menander* (Manchester
1950) 131.

[15] The bystander Theopropides' presence is dramatically motivated; he
cannot enter his house because he has been persuaded that it is haunted.

[16] See E. Fraenkel, *De media et noua comoedia quaestiones selectae* (diss. Göt-
tingen 1912) 100ff, *Plautinisches im Plautus* (Berlin 1922) 61ff (= *Elementi
plautini in Plauto* [Florence 1960] 57ff).

[17] See C. Langer, *De serui persona apud Menandrum* (diss. Bonn 1919) 63 and
102, Theiler, *Hermes* 73 (1938) 272.

[18] Ritschl's view (*Parerga*, pp. 406ff) that this was Menander's Δὶς ἐξαπατῶν
seems to be still generally accepted.

[19] *Dysc.* 153–159 should be contrasted with *Bacch.* 925–930 and the passages
discussed by Fraenkel, *Pl. im Pl.*, pp. 8ff (= *Elementi*, pp. 7ff).

[20] See I. S. Ryberg, *An Archaeological Record of Rome from the Seventh to the
Second Century B.C.* (London 1940).

like the *Equos Troianus* of Livius and Naevius[21] would have made the story of the Achaean siege of Troy particularly well known. Belief that Chrysalus' monody translated fairly literally something by Menander[22] helped to make scholars of the last century ready to entertain theories of large-scale interpolation. Conversely the new theory about the monody's origin makes scholars of this century willing to accept a considerable amount of incoherence in the παράδοσις. It should be remembered, however, that those passages where Latin originality can most easily be demonstrated usually occur at points where interpolation was easiest. The notion that Plautus was capable of any degree of inelegance, incoherence, and self-contradiction depends as much on general notions about the state of theatrical culture in early second-century Rome as on unambiguous detailed evidence.

What is transmitted of Chrysalus' monody falls conveniently on close inspection into a number of parts:

i) vv. 925–931: a comparison of the deception of the old man with the legendary storming of Troy.
ii) vv. 932–936, 941–944: a prophecy identifying the letter which the slave bears from the young man with the wooden horse of the Achaeans, and the old man with the Trojan king Priam.
iii) vv. 937–940, 945–952: a series of identifications between the personages of the *Bacchides* and heroes of the Trojan legend.
iv) vv. 953–961: a comparison between the fatal events which led to the capture of Troy and elements of the action of the *Bacchides*.
v) vv. 962–977: an account of past and future events of the *Bacchides*, comparing some with items of the Trojan legend.

Part iv is the only one whose removal would create difficulties in the dialogue which follows the monody. There are no anomalies in its language. Let it therefore be summoned first for examination.

> Ilio tria fuisse audiui fata quae illi forent exitio: 953
> signum ex arce si periisset; alterum etiamst Troili mors;
> tertium, cum portae Phrygiae limen superum scinderetur.   955

---

[21] Nonius, p. 475.10, gives the title to Livius; Macrobius *Sat.* 6.1.38, to Naevius; cf. Cicero *Fam.* 7.1.2. Ennius' Cassandra prophesied the trick of the wooden horse (*Sc.* 76–77); his Andromache sang of the death of Priam and the destruction of the palace (*Sc.* 92ff). A remarkably large proportion of the known themes of early Roman tragedy come from the Trojan cycle of legend.

[22] Kiessling, *Anal. plaut.*, p. 14, reckoned nothing of what he considered genuine to have been invented by Plautus; cf. also *Analecta plautina II* (Ind. schol. Greifswald 1881–1882) 9.

paria item tria eis tribus sunt fata nostro huic Ilio.
nam dudum primo ut dixeram nostro seni mendacium
et de hospite et de auro et de lembo, ibi signum ex arce iam abstuli.
iam duo restabant fata tunc, nec magis id ceperam oppidum.
post ubi tabellas ad senem detuli, ibi occidi Troilum,
cum censuit Mnesilochum cum uxore esse dudum militis.   961

The basic form of these verses (*Ilio tria fuisse* audiui *fata . . .* paria
item *tria eis tribus sunt fata nostro huic Ilio*) is the same as that of the
verses of part i (*Atridae duo fratres* cluent *fecisse . . .* praeut . . .
expugnabo) and of at least three other monologue and monody openings
in the Plautine corpus:

Capt.   ⎧ uidi ego multa saepe *picta* quae Acherunti fierent
998–1000: ⎨ cruciamenta, uerum enim uero nulla *adaeque* est Acheruns
              ⎩ atque ubi ego fui in lapicidinis.

Merc.   ⎧ Pentheum diripuisse *aiunt* Bacchas: nugas maxumas
469–470: ⎩ fuisse credo *praeut* quo pacto ego diuorsus distrahor.

Most.   ⎧ Alexandrum magnum atque Agathoclem *aiunt* maxumas
775–777: ⎨ duo res gessisse: *quid mihi fiet tertio,*
              ⎩ qui solus facio facinora inmortalia? [23]

Verse 978 alludes subtly to the third of the ancient *fata* by turning
the door of Nicobulus' house into a *porta* [24] and Nicobulus himself
into Priam. Chrysalus' aside at vv. 987–988 as the old man opens the
letter describes the fulfilment of the *fatum*:

nunc superum limen scinditur, nunc adest exitium Ilio:
turbat equos lepide ligneus.

The monologue spoken at vv. 1053–1058 while the old man procures the
$400 from his house completes the comparison:

fit uasta Troia, scindunt proceres Pergamum.
sciui ego iam dudum fore me exitium Pergamo.
edepol qui me esse dicat cruciatu malo
dignum, ne ego cum illo pignus haud ausim dare;
tantas turbellas facio. sed crepuit foris.
ecfertur praeda ex Troia.

[23] Cf. frag. 15 of the *Bacchides:*

Vlixem *audiui* fuisse aerumnosissimum,
quia annos uiginti errans a patria afuit:
uerum hic adulescens multo Vlixem *anteit*
qui † ilico † errat intra muros ciuicos.

[24] Contrast vv. 234 *sed foris concrepuit nostra,* 768 *adambulabo ad ostium,* 798

The account of the *fata* is set in trochaic octonarii;[25] a septenarius (v. 956) gives the link with the comic action; the fulfilments are described in iambic octonarii,[26] the aftermath in senarii. When Chrysalus declared *signum ex arce iam abstuli* the audience would have compared him with Diomedes and Ulysses;[27] when he declared *occidi Troilum* they would have compared him with Achilles;[28] when he declared *sed Priamum astantem eccum ante portam uideo . . . nunc superum limen scinditur, nunc adest exitium Ilio . . . fit uasta Troia, scindunt proceres Pergamum . . . ecfertur praeda ex Troia*, they would have compared him with the Achaean leaders Agamemnon and Menelaus.[29] Verses 953–961, 978, 987–988, 1053–1058 clearly had one author whose method was to describe or enact part of the comic plot and then to interpret this in terms of a commonly known heroic story.[30] It seems very difficult to

---

audio aperiri fores, 1057 *sed crepuit foris*. Elsewhere in comedy *porta* always denotes a city gate (e.g. *Bacchides* 955).

[25] Cf. the Ennian Cassandra's account of her vision of the judgment of Paris, *Sc.* 69–71 (M. Haupt, *Philologus* 3 [1848] 546 = *Opusc.* I 209).

[26] Cf. Plautus *Amph.* 180–218, 248–252, 255–262 (Sosia's paratragic description of the battle between the Thebans and the Teloboi).

[27] For the story of the theft of the Palladium see Euripides *Rhes.* 498ff, Plautus *Pseud.* 1063f. Sophocles' tragedy Λάκαιναι handled the story.

[28] Sophocles' Τρώιλος told of the hero's death at the hands of Achilles. According to most extant accounts (e.g. Homer *Il.* 24.257) this happened early in the war. However Dares 29–33, Dictys 4.9, Ausonius *Epit.* 18 have Troilus succeed Hector as the Trojan leader.

[29] For the story of the wooden horse see Aeschylus *Ag.* 824ff, Euripides *Tr.* 9ff, Plautus *Pseud.* 1244, Ennius *Sc.* 76f. Sophocles had handled the story in his Λαοκόων; so too had Livius and Naevius (see above, n. 21). The precious objects plundered from Troy seem to have been displayed on stage during the action of the *Equos Troianus* (see Cicero *Fam.* 7.1.2 and, in general, S. Mariotti in H. Dahlmann and R. Merkelbach edd., *Studien zur Textgeschichte und Textkritik* [Cologne 1959] 125). E. Löfstedt cannot be right in seeing (*Syntactica* I² [Lund 1942] 195 n. 1) a direct connection between v. 1054 and Ennius *Sc.* 46. Such a connection would have suggested to the audience that they identify Chrysalus with the Trojan Paris-Alexander.

[30] This particular form of the story is admittedly not evidenced elsewhere. According to Apollodorus *Epit.* 5.10, the fatal events were: (i) if the bones of Pelops were brought, (ii) if Neoptolemus were enrolled in the army, (iii) if the Palladium were stolen. According to Servius, on *Aen.* 2.13, they were (i) if Troilus were killed, (ii) if the Palladium were stolen, (iii) if the tomb of Laomedon were disturbed (Servius' allegation that this account comes from Plautus' *Bacchides* is puzzling); or (i) if Neoptolemus were enrolled in the army, (ii) if the horses of Rhesus were captured, (iii) if the arrows of Hercules were acquired from Philoctetes.

accept Anspach's view that this quite ingenious poet was not the man responsible for the original script of the *Bacchides*.[31]

If vv. 953–961, 978, 987–988, 1053–1058 are pressed it would seem that Nicobulus' house and property are identified with the proverbially wealthy Ilium (Troia, Pergamum),[32] and Nicobulus himself with Priam. This is not completely in harmony with another piece of imagery which runs through the Latin text of the comedy and which is sometimes associated by modern scholars with that of the monody: vv. 709–713 make an elaborate identification of Chrysalus' projected second robbery of Nicobulus with a military assault on an ancient walled city; vv. 726, 733, 759 hint at the identification as Chrysalus lays out the details of his plan; vv. 814–815, often as obscure to modern readers as they were to the threatened Nicobulus, allude to the customary selling of inhabitants and movable property after the capture of a city;[33] vv. 1068–1075 recall the original identification to an audience which has now seen the plan successfully executed. The imagery, of a type frequently found in Roman comedy,[34] is coloured with reminders of contemporary military practice.[35] A theatre audience would have kept it quite separate from the comparison of events with the legendary capture of Troy.

Doubts raised concerning vv. 959 and 961 do not affect the authenticity of the rest of part iv. Langen[36] argued that 959 was otiose and extremely flat. Wilamowitz persuaded Kiessling[37] to eliminate 961 because no similarity could be seen between the old man's error about the status of Bacchis and the death of Troilus and because *dudum* was an inappropriate adverb to refer to an event so near in time. Langen disproved the point about *dudum*[38] but does not seem to me to have disposed of Wilamowitz' other argument. In any case where the first and third *fata*

---

[31] See *De Bacch. retr.*, p. 41. Anspach deleted vv. 945–972, 987–988.

[32] The visible house is indicated at v. 956 with *nostro huic Ilio*, the (to Chrysalus) invisible Nicobulus at v. 957 with *nostro seni*.

[33] Cf. Livy 4.29.4, 4.53.10, *et al.*

[34] Cf., where the intrigues of slaves and servile types are concerned, Plautus *Bacch.* 232, 641, *Cist.* 540, *Epid.* 158ff, *Mil.* 219ff, 597ff, 813ff, *Persa* 753ff, *Poen.* 201f, 919, *Pseud.* 524f, 574ff, Terence *Phorm.* 229f, 318, 346f. See Fraenkel, *Pl. im Pl.*, pp. 63ff (= *Elementi*, pp. 59ff), M. Durry, *REL* 18 (1940) 57ff.

[35] Cf. the mention of the *ballista*, the *imperator*, the *praeda*, the *triumphus*, the *mulsum*, the *quaestor*. Chrysalus must be referring to military ceremonial at v. 1073 (so Ritschl, *Parerga*, pp. 253, 423ff) rather than to a hackneyed comic motif (so Fraenkel, *Pl. im. Pl.*, p. 235 [= *Elementi*, p. 227], G. Williams, *Hermes* 84 [1956] 447).

[36] *Plaut. Stud.*, p. 264.

[37] *Anal. plaut.*, p. 17.

[38] *Beiträge zur Kritik und Erklärung des Plautus* (Leipzig 1880) 35.

are concerned the heroic interpretation comes after the account of the
comic event.[39] The position of 961 is extremely inelegant.[40] It could be
an insertion by an actor who found the link between *tabellas ad senem
detuli* and *occidi Troilum* in 960 hard to understand.[41]

Part iv thus clears itself as a whole from suspicion but incriminates
everything before and after. Verse 953 has shown itself to be a typical
monody opening; v. 955 demands that v. 978 be closer than the tradition
places it. Let us therefore summon part i for examination.

> Atridae duo fratres cluent fecisse facinus maxumum,   925
> quom Priami patriam, Pergamum diuina moenitum manu
> armis, equis, exercitu atque eximiis bellatoribus
> milli cum numero nauium decumo anno post subegerunt.
> † non pedibus tormento fuit † praeut ego erum expugnabo meum
> sine classe sineque exercitu et tanto numero militum.   930
> cepi, expugnaui amanti erili filio aurum ab suo patre.

The phrases *erum expugnabo meum* and *cepi, expugnaui . . . aurum*
cannot stand together in the one context. Either the first has to be
emended to *erum expugnaui meum*, thus producing a ludicrous compari-
son between the mighty deed of the Atridae and the first, abortive,
deception of Nicobulus, or the whole of v. 931 must be struck out.[42] The
emphasis on the slave's single-handedness in vv. 925–930 anticipates
quite prettily his identification with a whole succession of heroes in the
certainly genuine vv. 956–960, 986–988. No real difficulty[43] is posed by
the contradictory vv. 941 *tum quae hic sunt scriptae litterae, hoc in equo
insunt milites*, 971–972 *nunc alteris etiam ducentis usus est, qui dispensentur
Ilio capto* (these are all almost certainly spurious),[44] and 1071 *domum
reduco integrum omnem exercitum* (this is part of a quite separate pattern

---

[39] At v. 986 Chrysalus hands the second letter over to Nicobulus in full view
of the audience; vv. 987–988 give the heroic interpretation as Nicobulus opens
the tablets.

[40] Cf., however, *Bacch.* 808–811, where 811 might seem an unnecessary
addition.

[41] See further below, p. 150.

[42] Kiessling deleted v. 931 because in its transmitted position it could refer
only to the first deception of Nicobulus and because its octonarian pattern, un-
like that of the preceding six verses and the following three, lacks a median
diaeresis. Even Weise, *De Bacch. retr.*, p. 21, approved of this deletion. A.
Thierfelder, *De rationibus interpolationum Plautinarum* (Leipzig 1929) 97, sug-
gested that the verse was composed by a reader trying to interpret the bold
metaphor of *erum expugnabo* and having in his text a false reading, *erum expugnaui*.

[43] Brachmann saw the contradiction and deleted v. 930.

[44] See below, pp. 149ff.

of imagery).[45] More serious is the fact that vv. 925–930 imply an identification between Nicobulus and Troy. It seems to me possible that *expugnaui* was the original reading in v. 929 and that vv. 925–931 come from some play in which a slave deceived his master. This was a common theme of the *Néα* and its Roman derivatives,[46] and there is no reason to think that of all the comedies produced in the third and second centuries[47] only the *Bacchides* and the *Pseudolus*[48] drew the obvious parallel with a famous subject of plastic art and stage tragedy.[49] An actor with a wide repertoire of comic songs may have thought *Bacchides* 953–960 needed larger dimensions for his talents to be properly displayed to the public.[50]

Part i is thus quite possibly Plautine but also quite possibly from a script other than that of the original *Bacchides*. It should be noted that its acquittal from suspicion would incriminate further parts ii, iii, and v with their talk of Chrysalus' allies. Let part ii come forward.

nunc prius quam huc senex uenit, lubet lamentari dum exeat.   932
o Troia, o patria, o Pergamum, o Priame periisti senex,
qui misere male mulcabere quadringentis Philippis aureis.
nam ego has tabellas obsignatas, consignatas quas fero   935
non sunt tabellae sed equos quem misere Achiui ligneum.   936
tum quae hic sunt scriptae litterae, hoc in equo insunt milites   941
armati atque animati probe. ita res successit mihi usque[51] adhuc.
atque hic equus non in arcem uerum in arcam faciet impetum;
exitium, excidium, exlecebra fiet hic equos hodie auro senis.   944

Verse 932 is metrically irregular[52] and oddly contorted in syntax; the use of *lamentari* with reference to events of the future is unique in old if

[45] See above, p. 141.

[46] Cf. Galen *De nat. fac.* 1.17, Ovid *Am.* 1.15.17–18, Manilius 5.470–476 (Menander), Horace *Sat.* 1.10.40–42 (Fundanius), *Ars* 237–238 (Caecilius).

[47] At one point of time scholars possessed 130 comedies with the name of Plautus attached (Gellius 3.3.11).

[48] Verse 1244. Williams (447f; see above, n. 35) cautiously suggests that this verse and 1063–1064 are brief and allusive because the idea had already been fully worked out in the *Bacchides*.

[49] See above, pp. 137f.

[50] The interpolation would be an early one, especially if Festus, p. 498.20–21, refers to the obscure v. 929. One of the most certain interpolations in the Plautine corpus, *Stich.* 48–57 (see Leo, *NGG* 1902, 378, and, for Greek parallels, Fraenkel, *SB Bayer. Ak.*, phil.-hist. Kl., 1963, 55), seems to come from a time when actors had lost the ability to handle Plautus' elaborate songs.

[51] mihi usque *Bothe* : meliusque *P*.

[52] Hiatus after a monosyllable in the fall of a foot is rare (but see B. Maurenbrecher, *Hiatus und Verschleifung im alten Latein* [Leipzig 1899] 35ff). Two

not in all recorded Latin. The other verses, however, are as elegant as any in the Plautine corpus.[53] Verse 933 parodies contemporary tragedy[54] in a typical fashion.[55] The structure of vv. 936 (*non sunt tabellae sed equos*) and 943 (*non in arcem uerum in arcam*)[56] and the kind of verbal

---

iambic words rarely end the first half of an iambic octonarius (see A. Luchs, in G. Studemund ed., *Studia in priscos scriptores Latinorum* I [Berlin 1873] 1ff, A. Klotz, *Grundzüge altrömischer Metrik* [Leipzig 1890] 237ff).

[53] Transposition would easily remove the somewhat unusual hiatus from the second half of v. 941. Hiatus and *syllaba anceps* are of course common at the median diaeresis of the octonarius.

[54] Cf. Euripides *Med.* 166 ὦ πάτερ, ὦ πόλις, ὧν ἀπενάσθην, *Phoen.* 611–613 ὦ πάτερ ... ὦ πόλις, Ennius *Sc.* 92 *o pater, o patria, o Priami domus*, Virgil *Aen.* 2.241–242 *o patria, o diuum domus Ilium et incluta bello* | *moenia Dardanidum* ("O PATRIA uersus Ennianus" — Servius). In his edition of Plautus' comedies (Paris 1576) Lambinus very soberly observed: "talia sunt illa ex Ennii Hecuba (*sic*): o pater o patria o Priami domus. et illa Virgiliana libr. 2. o patria ... Dardanidum. et fortasse haec Plautina ex aliqua latina antiqua tragoedia sumpta sunt." T. Ladewig, *Analecta scenica* (Strelitz 1848) 14, alleged a direct connection with Ennius *Sc.* 92 and has been followed with surprising unanimity by modern scholars; cf. O. Ribbeck, *Tragicorum latinorum reliquiae* (Leipzig 1852), p. 353, Fraenkel, *Pl. im Pl.*, p. 67 (= *Elementi*, p. 63), T. Frank, "Plautus on Anatolian Affairs," *Anatolian Studies Presented to W. H. Buckler* (Manchester 1939) 85ff, Williams (above, n. 35) 448 n. 1. Kiessling, *Anal. plaut.*, pp. 14f, argued that Menander had alluded to the tragedy which Ennius translated and that Plautus translated literally the allusion without thought of Ennius. The Ennian anapaests come from a long monody uttered by Andromache, the widow of Hector, now a captive of the Greeks and assigned to Neoptolemus as his concubine, as she looks back over the disasters which have befallen her protectors: the destruction of her native city, Cilician Thebes, the killing of her father Eetion by Achilles, the father of Neoptolemus, the killing of Hector by the same Achilles, the killing of her father-in-law and guardian Priam by Neoptolemus. *O pater* addresses Eetion, *o patria* Thebes, *o Priami domus* the household into which Andromache passed on marrying Hector. Chrysalus' *o patria* addresses Troy. Andromache's monody treats the destruction of Troy as a past event; for Chrysalus this is something yet to come to pass: *periisti* refers to the future, as often in comedy; it is coordinate with *mulcabere* (v. 934), *faciet impetum* (v. 943), *exitium excidium exlecebra fiet* (v. 944); Nicobulus does not "perish" until v. 1052 when he goes into his house to get the $400.

[55] Cf. Plautus *Pseud.* 702–707 (... *ut paratragoedat carnufex*), Terence *Eun.* 590 ("parodia de Ennio" — Donatus). See Thierfelder, "Plautus und römische Tragödie," *Hermes* 74 (1939) 155ff.

[56] See Plautus *Bacch.* 371 *Bacchides non Bacchides sed Bacchae sunt acerrumae*, *Capt.* 825 *non ego nunc parasitus sum sed regum rex regalior*, *Merc.* 641 *non hominem mi sed thesaurum nescioquem memoras mali*, *Pseud.* 465 *non Pseudolum sed Socratem tecum loqui*, 736 *non Charinus mihi hic quidem sed Copia est*, 790–791 *forum coquinum qui uocant stulte uocant*, | *nam non coquinum est uerum furinum est forum*, *Rud.* 86 *non uentus fuit uerum Alcumena Euripidi*. Cf. Herodas 7.110 ἔχεις γὰρ οὐχὶ γλάσσαν ἡδονῆς δ' ἰσθμόν.

play indulged by the latter, the alliterative tricolon of v. 944 (*exitium excidium exlecebra*)[57] with its bold concluding neologism have parallels all over what survives of archaic drama. The content of part ii describes quite prettily what Chrysalus will achieve with his letter.

Two features of vv. 933–936, 941–944 set them at odds with part iv. Firstly the cry *o Troia o patria o Pergamum o Priame periisti senex* would have identified Chrysalus with some Trojan lamenting the imminent doom of Troy and warning his or her fellow citizens of the danger posed by the wooden horse. Quite probably the *Equos Troianus* contained a scene in which the prophetess Cassandra denounced the plan to bring the horse inside the city walls.[58] However, not only part iv but all the rest of the transmitted monody present Chrysalus as one or other of the besieging Achaeans.[59] Secondly, vv. 933–936, 941–944 anticipate and spoil the effect of the story of the three *fata* and the enactment of the third of these *fata*.[60] The verses in question lack the detailed particularity of part iv and could be applied to any scheme to steal a sum of money from an old man by means of a deceitful letter. I would suggest therefore that they are of a similar nature to those of part i, i.e. that an actor foisted them into Chrysalus' monody from some other (possibly Plautine) play with which he was familiar.

Verse 932, if taken seriously, would almost compel an audience to assume that Nicobulus had gone into his house. Yet there is no indication in vv. 913–924 of Nicobulus' leaving the stage nor any of his returning in vv. 933–978. Indeed the plot of the script transmitted to us gives him no reason to leave. His question at v. 979 (*quoianam uox prope me sonat?*) only makes dramatic sense if he has been standing on stage

---

[57] See Plautus *Curc.* 115 *screanti siccae semisomnae*, *Men.* 114 *retines reuocas rogitas*, *Merc.* 674 *seruitus sudor sitis*, *Persa* 168 *indoctae immemori insipienti*, 331 *supersit suppetat superstitet*, Terence *Ad.* 134 *profundat perdat pereat*, *Eun.* 688 *uietus uetus ueternosus.* Cf. Euripides *Hel.* 1148 ἄπιστος ἄδικος ἄθεος and the examples of "privative τρίκωλον" collected by Fraenkel at Aesch. *Ag.* 412.

[58] F. G. Welcker, *Die griechischen Tragödien mit Rücksicht auf den epischen Cyclus geordnet* (Bonn 1839–1841) 523, Ladewig, *Anal. scen.*, p. 11, Ribbeck, *Die römische Tragödie im Zeitalter der Republik* (Leipzig 1875) 48, saw a possible connection between the *Equos Troianus* and Chrysalus' monody. Ribbeck allowed that v. 933 might imitate a speech by the Cassandra of this play rather than by the Ennian Andromache (comparing Tryphiodorus 395 ὤμοι ἐμῶν ἀχέων, ὤμοι σέο, πάτριον ἄστυ, 398 καὶ σέ, πάτερ, καὶ μῆτερ, ὀδύρομαι).

[59] Weise, *De Bacch. retr.*, p. 20, pointed out this contradiction only to satirise, as he thought, the arguments of Kiessling, Brachmann, and Anspach.

[60] For this reason Brachmann set the verses later in the monody (i.e. 969a, 935–936, 943–944, 941–942). Weise argued that they are necessary to explain to the audience what Chrysalus is about to do.

all the time engrossed in the letter from his son and heedless of Chrysa-
lus' return. If the vocabulary, syntax, and metre of the verse were not so
peculiar I might suggest that it came from the same play as vv. 933–936
and 941–944 and thus bolster my argument that these verses were not
originally composed for the *Bacchides*. However, I am driven to think
that some reader, puzzled by the length of the monody in his text, in-
vented the verse in order to get rid of the dramatically embarrassing
Nicobulus.

Let us now examine part iii.

> Epiust Pistoclerus: ab eo haec sumptae [61]; Mnesilochus Sino est   937
> relictus, ellum non in busto Achilli sed in lecto accubat;
> Bacchidem habet secum: ille olim habuit ignem qui signum daret,
> hic [62] ipsum exurit; ego sum Vlixes, cuius consilio haec gerunt. 940
> nostro seni huic stolido, ei profecto nomen facio ego Ilio;   945
> miles Menelaust, ego Agamemno, idem Vlixes Lartius,
> Mnesilochust Alexander, qui erit exitio rei patriae suae;
> is Helenam auexit, cuia causa nunc facio obsidium Ilio.
> nam illi itidem Vlixem audiui, ut ego sum, fuisse et audacem et malum:
> dolis ego deprensus sum, ille mendicans paene inuentus interit   950
> dum ibi exquirit facta [63] Iliorum [64]; adsimiliter mihi hodie optigit.
> uinctus sum sed dolis me exemi; item se ille seruauit dolis.

Whereas parts i, ii, and iv are relatively free of linguistic oddities, a
number turn up here on close inspection: *sumere* is not used in the man-
ner of v. 937 elsewhere in old Latin except where money is concerned;
although *eccum* is common in the Plautine corpus even to indicate
persons offstage, the only other example of *ellum* occurs in a metrically
anomalous verse which a slight alteration to the word would normalise; [65]
adsimiliter occurs nowhere else in Latin. [66] *Epīus* looks late. [67]

The subject matter of part iii is internally confused, the arrangement
far from elegant. The proximity of *ego sum Vlixes, cuius consilio haec gerunt*
and *ei profecto nomen facio ego Ilio; miles Menelaust, ego Agamemno
idem Vlixes Lartius* gives a most untidy impression. Verse 947, which

---

[61] sumptae *Kiessling*: sumpta *P*.

[62] hic *Lambinus*: hunc *P*.

[63] facta *B*: fata *ACD*. See below, n. 80.

[64] Iliorum *Gulielmius*: illorum *AP*.

[65] *Curc.* 278. L. Mueller altered *ellum* to *eccillum*. See Thierfelder, *De rat.
interp.*, p. 67.

[66] Plautus, however, has *adsimilis* twice and *similiter* (*simulter*) twice.

[67] Cf. Virgil *Aen.* 2.264. The Plautine iambic octonarius cited by Varro at *Ling.*
7.38 has *Epĕus* (cf. *Aleus, Philippeus, balineum, gynaeceum*, etc.).

identifies Mnesilochus with Alexander the Trojan, flatly contradicts v. 937, which identifies him with Sino the Achaean. The identification in v. 946 of Cleomachus, an enemy of Chrysalus–Agamemnon, with Agamemnon's brother is a patent absurdity; so too the identification within the space of two verses (946–947) of Mnesilochus with Trojan Alexander and of Mnesilochus' slave with Achaean Ulysses. I find it difficult to believe that the one poet was responsible for this stew and the neat series of identifications in vv. 957–960, 986–988.

Verses 937–940 could have been excised from the text copied by the Ambrosian scribe for no other reasons than that they snapped the obvious links between vv. 936 and 941 and contradicted vv. 945–952.[68] Questa[69] was impressed by their "Plautine" style[70] and set them directly after v. 944, eliminating vv. 946–948.[71] His procedure is to be rejected not so much because "the revisers of Plautus did not work in this way"[72] as because he thereby worsens, if anything, the dramatic vices of the tradition. The naming of Epius and the identification of Pistoclerus with him have some little point directly after the first mention of the wooden horse (v. 936), none after a long account of what the horse is going to effect. The phrase *ab eo haec sumptae* is comprehensible directly after v. 936 but not anywhere later; the actor would have to gesture towards the tablets as he spoke in order to make the meaning clear, something not appropriate to the abundant style of Plautine monody. The phrase *nostro seni huic stolido* if placed after v. 940 would suggest that Chrysalus could already see Nicobulus and make nonsense of v. 978 (*sed Priamum adstantem eccum ante portam*).

Since the content of vv. 937–940 contradicts that of vv. 929–930[73] and that of vv. 933–934[74] and since the laborious style of their comparison of the comic action with the heroic myth is quite different from the

[68] These were probably Guyet's reasons and certainly Ussing's (*Nordisk Tidskrift for Filologi* 5 [1880] 63–64).

[69] *T. Maccius Plautus: Bacchides*, pp. 25ff.

[70] Cf. Plautus *Asin.* 220–221 *aedes nobis area est, auceps sum ego, | esca est meretrix, lectus inlex est, amatores aues, Capt.* 796–797 *meumst ballista pugnum, cubitus catapultast mihi, | umerus aries.*

[71] Brachmann deleted 945–952; Fraenkel, *Pl. im Pl.*, p. 66 n.1 (= *Elementi*, p. 62 n. 1), 947–948. Weise and L. Havet (who considered the verses spurious anyway; see *Manuel de critique verbale* [Paris 1911] 1579) thought that rearrangement would cure the obvious trouble: Weise 945.7.8.6.9, Havet 945.6.8.9.7.

[72] So W. G. Arnott, *Gnomon* 39 (1967) 137.

[73] See above, p. 142.

[74] See above, p. 145.

allusiveness of the certainly genuine vv. 953–960, 987–988, they should be attributed to some literary student of an already interpolated script of the *Bacchides* who extended the comparison made in vv. 933–936 and 941–944 without understanding the implications of what he was trying to do.[75]

Verses 945–952, which Kiessling deleted,[76] not only are internally muddled but contradict both genuine and suspect parts of the monody. The identification in v. 945 of the old man with Ilium does not harmonise with what is said in vv. 933 (Ilium and the old man are separate), 956, 986–988, 1053–1058 (the old man's house is Ilium), 978 (the house is Ilium,[77] and the old man is Priam). Even if this disharmony is acceptable[78] the verse must be said to anticipate and spoil the point of vv. 953–960, 986–988. Neither *Asin.* 215–225 nor *Most.* 84–156[79] is at all parallel. Again, whereas v. 960 implicitly identifies Chrysalus with Achilles, vv. 949–952, which refer to the same element of the comic plot, namely the taking of the first letter to Nicobulus, identify the slave explicitly with Ulysses.[80] *Aul.* 551ff, *Capt.* 562ff, *Epid.* 29ff, *Men.* 143f, 745ff, and *Rud.* 508f[81] are not parallel: these passages muddle together different myths, they do not throw into confusion a single myth. The composer of vv. 937–940 was perhaps stupid enough to compose vv. 945–952 as well, but it seems more likely that a second reader chanced his pen at extending vv. 933–936, 941–944.

Study of part iv and discovery of a close link between it and v. 979 have already brought part v under suspicion. Let us examine this part more closely.

[75] Havet thought that the verses belonged with 952 and 950–951 to Plautus' original script and were replaced by 941–946, 948–949, and 947 when the tragedy to which in his opinion they alluded went out of fashion.

[76] *Anal. plaut.*, p. 15 (on advice from Wilamowitz).

[77] See above, p. 139 and n. 24, on the force of *porta*.

[78] Weise argued that v. 945 repeated the joke of 709ff and 929 in an effective manner.

[79] See Fraenkel, *Pl. im Pl.*, p. 71 (= *Elementi*, p. 66).

[80] *Facta* must be read at v. 951 (cf. Plautus *Aul.* 806–807 *spatium ei dabo exquirendi | meum factum ex gnatae pedisequa nutrice anu*). Unless the composer was quite without wit he must refer to the story of Ulysses' spying expedition into Troy (see Euripides *Rhes.* 503–507, *Hec.* 239–250 [N.B. schol. 241 κατοπτεύοντα τὰ κατὰ τοὺς Τρῶας πράγματα]). Helenus either betrayed the *fata* of his own free will after fleeing Troy or was ambushed by Ulysses somewhere outside the city.

[81] See Fraenkel, *Pl. im Pl.*, pp. 75ff (= *Elementi*, pp. 70ff).

ibi uix me exsolui: atque id periclum adsimilo, Vlixem ut praedicant 962
  cognitum ab Helena esse proditum Hecubae; sed ut olim ille se
  blanditiis exemit et persuasit se ut amitteret,
item ego dolis me illo expuli e periclo et decepi senem.   965
poste cum magnifico milite, urbes uerbis qui inermus capit,
conflixi atque hominem reppuli; dein pugnam conserui seni:
eum ego adeo uno mendacio deuici, uno ictu extempulo
        cepi spolia. is nunc ducentos
        nummos Philippos militi, quos
        dare se promisit, dabit. nunc   970
        alteris etiam ducentis
        usus est, qui dispensentur
        Ilio capto, ut sit mulsum
        qui triumphent milites.
sed Priamus hic multo illi praestat: non quinquaginta modo,
quadringentos filios habet atque omnis lectos sine probro:
eos ego hodie omnis contruncabo duobus solis ictibus.   975
nunc Priamo nostro si est quis emptor, comptionalem senem
uendam ego, uenalem quem habeo, extemplo ubi oppidum expugnauero.

The verses of part v consist in effect of an account of the action be-
tween vv. 862 and 1066 with comparisons of the action of vv. 770–862
with Ulysses' spying mission into Troy and of that of vv. 1059–1066
with the killing of Priam's children. The account is a confused and
tedious one. The introductory phrase, *ibi uix me exsolui* (v. 962) is ex-
cessively elliptical. The description of the soldier, *urbes uerbis qui inermus
capit* (v. 966), refers to nothing in the text. The correct sequence of
events is inverted by the wording of *hominem reppuli; dein pugnam
conserui senem* (v. 965).[82] With only one letter left to be delivered the
phrase *hodie omnis contruncabo duobos solis ictibus* (v. 975) has no clear
meaning. It is particularly odd coming after *uno ictu extempulo / cepi
spolia* (vv. 968–969).[83] The organisation of the account has not been
improved either by rearrangement (e.g. by putting 962–965 after 951[84]

[82] Weise tried to explain *dein* away as being a mere connective. There seems
to be no example, however, in old Latin even of the spatial use of this adverb.
[83] Verse 641 *nam duplex hodie facinus feci, duplicibus spoliis sum affectus*
uttered at a point where only one deception has occurred is much more odd.
Scholars have invoked the Menandrian title Δὶς ἐξαπατῶν at both v. 641 and v.
975. If the author had this title in mind he was more likely to be a scholastic
interpolator than a dramatist with thoughts of what was to happen on stage
and in the minds of spectators.
[84] So Havet, though believing the verses spurious.

or 958[85] or by putting 966–968 after 960[86]) or by minor surgery (e.g. by deleting 962–967 and removing 969–972 to after 975[87]). A number of its linguistic features cause disquiet: the usage of *assimilare* (in the sense of *comparare*),[88] *se expellere* (in the sense of *effugere*),[89] and *legere* (in the sense of *eligere*)[90] and the formation *comptionalis*[91] have no parallels in the rest of the Plautine corpus.

The verses of part v do not harmonise well in detail either with the immediately preceding part of the monody or with the following dialogue. For the statement *ibi occidi Troilum* (v. 960) to have point the preceding *tabellas ad senem detuli* must refer in a shorthand way not only to v. 789 but also to the result of the whole action between that verse and Chrysalus' entry into the house of the harlot sisters at v. 913. Brevity was necessary to allow the playwright to get away with his rather extreme comparison of Nicobulus' deception with Troilus' death at the hands of Achilles. The long-winded account of events in

[85] So Kiessling. Weise correctly argued that the recognition of Helen had nothing to do with the *fata* (this argument would also count against the transmitted position of 962–965), that the spying mission and the theft of the Palladium were distinct episodes of the Trojan story.

[86] So Kiessling.

[87] So Brachmann, leaving *eum ego adeo uno mendacio deuici, uno ictu extempulo cepi ⟨ab eo⟩ spolia* to stand directly after 960.

[88] In the sense "simulare, fingere" *assimilare* occurs often in the Plautine corpus. See Thierfelder, *De rat. interp.*, p. 67.

[89] *Me . . . expuli* has one dubious parallel in Cato *Agr.* 33.4 *uites subligato, pampinato uuasque expellito* (*expedito* Pontedera; see Löfstedt, *Philologische Kommentar zur Peregrinatio Aetheriae* [Uppsala 1911] 267). Dissaldaeus' *me . . . extuli* has no parallel in comedy; only Accius *Tr.* 592 has the phrase before Virgil *Aen.* 11.462; Plautus, however, has *se auferre* (*Asin.* 469, *Rud.* 1032), *se adferre* (*Amph.* 989), and *se inferre* (*Persa* 307 et al.).

[90] See J. Steinthal, *De interpolationibus plautinis* (diss. Berlin 1918), pp. 23, 28. The only other instance before Accius *Tr.* 574 and Turpilius *Com.* 56 is the dubious Plautus *Mil.* 603 (deleted by C. H. Weise as a dittography). However, Plautus *Pseud.* 1149 and Terence *Phorm.* 53 have *legere*, "colligere"; and there are a number of cases of "simplex pro composito" (in general see Leumann–Hofmann–Szantyr, *Lateinische Grammatik* II 298ff) in the Plautine corpus: e.g. *linquere*, "relinquere" (*Asin.* 280 et al.), *gerere*, "ingerere" (*Pseud.* 102 ~ 157, 369).

[91] Steinthal (see preceding note) points out that *comptionalis* occurs elsewhere only at Curius ap. Cic. *Fam.* 7.29.1, Plautus not even having *coemere* (first at Terence *Ad.* 225). It might be added that the Plautine corpus seems to have no other adjective in *-tionalis* (*-sionalis*) despite many ἅπαξ εἰρημένα in *-tio* (*-sio*) (e.g. *famigeratio, palpatio, parasitatio, risio, rogitatio, uelitatio, uentio*) and *-alis* (e.g. *caudicalis, emortualis, esurialis, uapularis*).

vv. 962–970 would not have improved, to say the least, the plausibility
of his artistic framework. The comparison between the bound Chrysalus
and the captive spy Ulysses juxtaposed to that between the scheming
Chrysalus and Achilles ἀριστεύων might have a comic effect in some
circumstances but hardly here. The intent of *sit mulsum qui triumphent
milites* (v. 972) is belied by *non triumpho . . . uerum tamen accipientur
mulso milites* (vv. 1073–1074). The threat *senem uendam* (vv. 976–977)
would have been ludicrous to any audience acquainted with the heroic
story.[92] It repeats the joke, or perhaps some scholarly explanation of the
joke, of vv. 814–815.

Initial suspicion of part v is thus amply confirmed. It could not have
been composed by the author of part iv.[93] Whether he was an actor
or a reader is hard to tell. The metrical structure perhaps suggests
familiarity with the early Roman stage. Certainly the same poet could
not be responsible for vv. 962–965 and the second half of part iii (vv.
945–952).[94]

A very different conclusion might be drawn from my examination of
the structure of what is transmitted to us as Chrysalus' monody, namely
that Plautus was utterly feckless where dramatic rationality was con-
cerned and would write any kind of nonsense to allow an actor scope for
displaying his vocal abilities. But one clearly defined part of the received
text does have all the opposite qualities: those of verbal elegance,
narrative coherence, and close harmony with the logic of the action.
It is therefore reasonable to suppose that this part is the authentic
nucleus around which in the course of the textual transmission the others
have accreted. Two could come from other scripts by Plautus himself
inasmuch as they show no clear internal signs of spuriousness; one seems
to come from readers possessed of an already interpolated script, and
one from actors. What we have is as a whole the work of editors who put
together what they could find in the manuscripts available to them. The
text of the Ambrosian codex shows that some editors were partly aware

[92] For the story of Priam's death during the sack of Troy cf. Euripides *Hec.*
23f, *Troad.* 16f, 481ff, Ennius *Sc.* 97ff. For artistic handling of the theme see
M. I. Wiencke, *AJA* 58 (1954) 285ff.

[93] Brachmann regarded only vv. 968–969, 970–975 as genuinely Plautine,
Anspach only 973–978, Leo, Havet, and Thierfelder only 966–972.

[94] Weise predictably argued that 962–965 was a necessary particularisation
of 949–952.

of the nature of their material. I hope that this article has at least clarified the problems which the παράδοσις presents and shaken any faith that we possess the original script of the *Bacchides* with only minor adjustments.

UNIVERSITY OF SYDNEY

SYMMETRY AND SENSE IN THE *ECLOGUES*

Otto Skutsch

HABENT sua fata libelli, and the book of the *Eclogues* is no exception. Some of us still remember the days when every character in the *Eclogues* was an historical person in disguise, when the lament of the Punic lion revealed that the person so lamented had died in Africa, and when you had only to look closely at Virgil's description of scenery to find where he owned and lost and regained his farm. Further back lies the period of Romanticism when even a Frenchman could describe the *Eclogues* as poems in which stilted shepherds poured out bucketfuls of frigid verses over each others' heads — not that Mr. Robert Graves is not capable of saying similarly uncomprehending things even today. Romanticism, and with it the wholesale condemnation of Virgil's art, is gone, but some of its effects are still with us. I mean in particular the unwillingness of a great many scholars to recognise formal, and in particular numerical, patterns in poetry. Romanticism, let us concede, is not wholly responsible for that reluctance. Part of the blame rests with those who have a penchant for discovering such patterns. What they discover they seem to retain on their retina, and then, not unnaturally, they see it everywhere. Or again, though restricting themselves to demonstrable patterns, they tend to invest those objects of their legitimate interest with a significance which they cannot possibly possess. Their purely formal nature is particularly obvious in what I may call the internal patterns, the patterns observed within one single poem. Look, for instance, at *Eclogue* viii (see accompanying diagram). It consists in the main of the songs of Damoetas and Alphesiboeus, equally long, both divided by recurrent intercalary lines, the burden, into three sequences of three stanzas each, one stanza of 3, one of 4, and one of 5 lines belonging to each sequence. This gives to each song proper 36 lines. Then we have an introduction of 16 lines and a piece of 2 lines connecting the two songs: 18. And then, of course, there are 18 intercalary lines, and so we have two songs proper of 36 lines, and 36 lines

Ecl. viii

Introd.	Songs	Burden
16		
	4	
		I
	3	
		I
	5	
		I
	4	
		I
	5	
		I
	3	
		I
	4	
		I
	3	
		I
	5	
Trans.		I
2		
	4	
		I
	3	
		I
	5	(1)
		I
	4	
		I
	5	
		I
	3	
		I
	5	
		I
	3	
		I
	4	
		I
18	2 × 36	18

Ecl. ix

6	I	5
10	4	6
13	9	4
29		
14	7	7
12	7	5
12	10	2
38	38	29

Ecl. i

10	5	5	
15	8	7	
			39
10	1	9	
35	4		
10		6	6
18	13	5	
			38
20	15	5	
48	46	37	

Ecl. iii (1st half)

2	I	I
7	4	3
6	2	4
9	5	4
24		
7	3	4
17	12	5
6	3	3
30	30	24

Ecl. v

7	3	4	
2	I	I	9
6	3	3	
4	4		10
25		25	
11	8	3	11
25	25		
4		4	
6	3	3	10

Ecl. iv

3
--
7
7
28   (8/11/9)
7
7
--
4

Ecl. ii		*Ecl. iii (2nd half)*	*Ecl. vii*
5		5	20
63	(13/9/17/11/13)	48 = 12(2+2)	48 = 6(4+4)
5		4	2

i

ii

330

iii

iv

90   v   149   181   181   15ᴄ

vi

vii

331

viii

ix

77   x

828
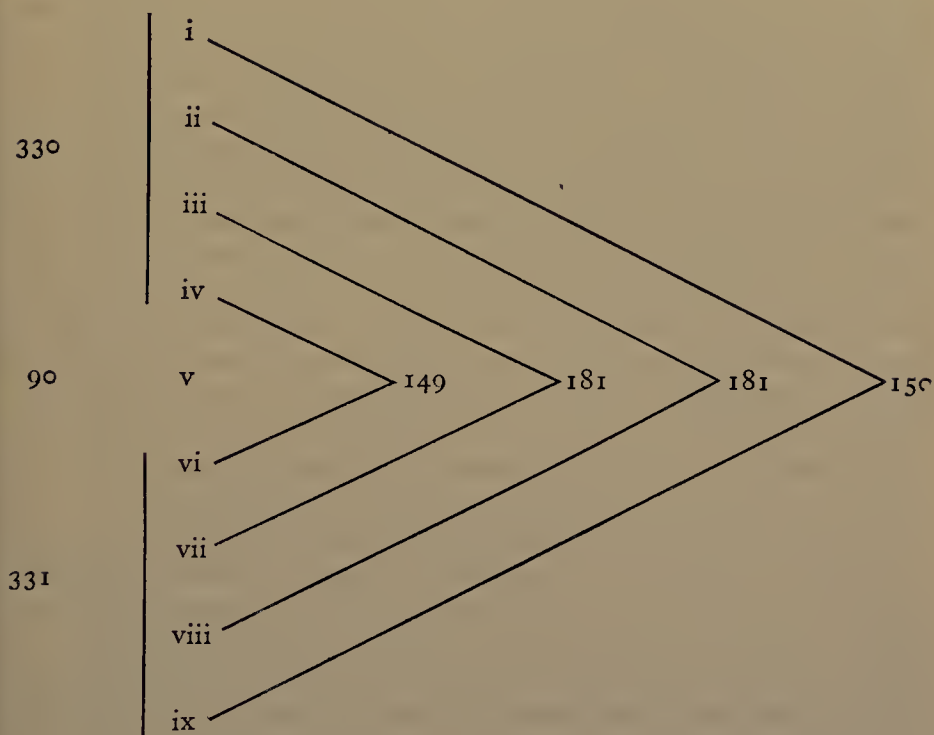
330	90	331	77	
22 cols.	{ 6 cols. }	22 cols.	{ 5 cols.	v + x = 11 cols.
	50 columns		5 cols.	

for everything else. Now what can this possibly signify in terms of a meaning intended by the poet? Nothing whatsoever! It is just a pretty pattern, and perhaps the poet would not even have been greatly distressed if his hearers or readers had not noticed it. It was just an order which he created for himself, and to which he worked. And yet, although it does not mean anything as far as the poetic intention is concerned, that order may mean something to the critic. It may enable him to discern with greater clarity the progress of thought and the delimitation of sense groups; in short, it may be an aid to interpretation. And further, it may on occasion be of assistance to textual criticism. In *Eclogue* viii, for instance, we have at one point (in the first stanza of 5 lines in Alphesiboeus' song) an intercalary line, which cuts that stanza of 5 lines into two stanzas of 3 and 2 lines. Now that line, 76, is excised by a number of editors, though strangely only by a minority of them, because it destroys the scheme of three sets of stanzas of 3, 4, and 5 lines in each song. Renaissance editors, on the other hand, insert an intercalary line at the corresponding point in the first song, after 28, and it must be admitted that it fits there not at all badly, as indeed 76 fits quite well in its place. However, in addition to the 3, 4, 5 lines argument, we now have the 36, 36, 36 proportion, which proves conclusively that no line is to be inserted after 28 but that on the contrary line 76 is to be excised. I think I know how it intruded; but we must not go into such detail.

Let me now give a very brief diagrammatical survey of the internal structure of at least some of the eclogues. *Eclogue* viii, which we looked at just now, is about love. The other poem concerned with love, *Eclogue* ii, shows a very simple structure: 5 lines of introduction, 5 lines of conclusion, and a song of 63 lines in between. Scholars have tried to cut up these 63 lines into sections according to sense, but nothing very clear emerges. The most likely division is 13:9:17:11:13, but, though this gives a rough balance, it is nothing compared to the elaborate structure of viii, and the very difference between the two poems may show that symmetry is not of the essence of this poetry.

It is there, nevertheless, and in constantly varying shapes. In *Eclogue* ix, one of the two poems concerned with the dispossession of farmers in the north, we have six exchanges between two speakers. The first three exchanges total 29 lines, the second three 38. Now look at the number of lines assigned to each speaker: the first speaker (in the central column of the diagram) has 38 lines, the second (in the last column) 29. Not a particularly sensible symmetry; in fact, as a structure I should call it exquisitely senseless. But a symmetry it is nevertheless, and Virgil seems to have employed it whenever he used dialogue not embodying

parallel songs. In the corresponding *Eclogue*, i, we again have six ex-changes between two speakers. The first three add up to 35 lines, the second three to 48 lines. Now the lines of the speakers: the first has 46, the second 37 lines. Alas! Why is it not 48 and 35, as it should be if our eclogue behaved like *Eclogue* ix? The villain in the piece obviously is the fourth exchange, where the first speaker has 4 lines, and the second 6 lines. If only it were the other way round! All would be well: we should have our totals of 48 and 35. But we see quite clearly why the poet did *not* so arrange matters. The 6 lines of the second speaker here contain the reference to Octavian: *hic illum uidi iuuenem, Meliboee, quotannis | bis senos cui nostra dies altaria fumant.* More than one critic has observed that this homage to the saviour is placed exactly in the centre of the poem. And not by accident. It is a practice of Augustan poets with which we are becoming more and more familiar, to place the great name precisely in the centre: *in medio mihi Caesar erit.* A paper by Professor Moritz is about to appear, showing this in some detail for Horace. Here, then, the first speaker, instead of his due 6 lines, has been given 4; and, if these are added to what precedes, the 6 lines of the second speaker are surrounded by groups of 39 and 38 lines. So Virgil has here slightly deviated from the symmetry which he employed in *Eclogue* ix, for the sake of another formal device, and this time a device which, however quaint it may appear to us, yet makes a certain amount of sense. This is quite an interesting point because we know not only that *Eclogue* i was written after ix but that it was deliberately modelled and shaped to be the companion piece of ix.

But perhaps the fact that we have here a very good excuse for the deviation is just as much of a fluke as the supposed structure in ix? Look then at the first half of *Eclogue* iii. From line 55 on, that poem is an amoebean contest between two shepherds and, as such, is structured in the natural fashion of *Eclogue* vii, the other amoebean contest: an introduction (5 and 20 lines respectively), the competing stanzas, and a conclusion (4 and 2 lines respectively). But the first part of *Eclogue* iii is a dialogue consisting of seven exchanges, and here again we find that the total of the first speaker's lines, 30, equals the total of the last three exchanges, and the total of the second speaker's lines, 24, equals the total of the first, here not three but four exchanges.

Let me give one more of these analyses, just to illustrate the variety of the schemes employed. In *Eclogue* v we have the two songs of lament for the dying Daphnis and of rejoicing at his deification. The poem begins with two scene-setting exchanges amounting to 9 lines (3 + 4; 1 + 1). Then we enter with *Incipe Mopse prior* into the main part of the

poem, and at this point there begins a strictly omphalic structure: an exchange of 6 lines, 3 to each speaker; 4 lines of the first speaker; 25 lines (song) of the second speaker; exchange of 11 lines; 25 lines (song) of the first speaker; 4 lines of the second speaker, and exchange of 6 lines, 3 to each speaker. If you ask why in a structure so clearly pentadic and decadic (10 lines to the frame, 25 to each song, 10 to the frame again) we should have a centre piece of 11 lines, the answer is obvious: the introduction and the centre piece add up to 20, to correspond to the 20 lines of the frame. We know a very similar feature in the Roman Odes of Horace, where the number of stanzas in the introductory and in the central poem (III i and III iv) add up to the same total as the two poems (III iii and II v) framing the central poem. As for Virgil himself, in the *Eclogues* we saw the introduction in poem viii add up with a transitional piece in the middle to a structurally significant 18, and in *Eclogue* vii, as we shall see presently, introduction and conclusion add up to a significant 7. Now, here again in *Eclogue* v we may derive a little benefit for the interpretation from understanding the structure. It is, I believe, a gain that we now see more clearly than before that the first 9 lines stand a little apart from the rest. But the structure itself is of no significance whatsoever: it is just a pretty pattern.

There is one eclogue only where the structure may be a little more than a senseless pattern. *Eclogue* iv, the Messianic eclogue announcing the birth of the wondrous child and the coming of the Golden Age, is structured in groups of 7 lines. An introduction of 3 lines, two groups of 7 lines each, the prophecy proper in 28 lines (admittedly 8:11:9, but 4 times 7 nevertheless), two groups of 7 lines each, and a conclusion of 4 lines, adding up to 7 with the introduction. Now the number 7, as we know from the *Aeneid*, has a way of turning up in solemn and especially in prophetic contexts — a warning, perhaps, against unduly playing down the seriousness and significance of the Messianic eclogue. But although the structure may here convey such a warning, we must not see in symbolism the primary significance of pattern-making. Here again, as in all other eclogues, a pattern was to be formed: and the form of it was, in this instance, determined by symbolism.

But let us now leave the insignificant internal patterns and turn to matters more important. It is nowadays, I think, conceded by everybody that a formal pattern instructs the book of the *Eclogues* as a whole. Nobody can deny that *Eclogue* i corresponds to ix both in some aspects of subject matter and in form, and that ii corresponds to viii, and iii to vii. The relation between iv and vi is a little questionable, and we shall have to look into this later; we shall also have to examine a possible

relationship between v and x, which would seem to be the logical corollary to the scheme mentioned. Now there are those who maintain that the eclogues come in triads of poems, i–iii, iv–vi, vii–ix, with x brought into the fold only with some difficulty. Or that the book is divided in the middle, i–v and vi–x. And why not? The *Aeneid* can be seen as consisting of two halves, i–vi and vii–xii, and at the same time as consisting of three groups of four books, i–iv, v–viii, ix–xii. I doubt, however, whether this really can apply to the *Eclogues*. Very subtle lines of thought can be devised to link the first five eclogues together in one group, and the second five in another, but these thoughts are so subtle that they require articles of fifty pages to explain them. The scheme i/ix, ii/viii, iii/vii, iv/vi, on the other hand, is self-evident. But to make assurance doubly sure, let us call in the numbers: the first three eclogues together have 267 lines, the second three 239 lines, and the third three 245 lines. I can see nothing there corresponding to the preoccupation with number which we observed in the internal patterns. Again, the first five eclogues add up to 420 lines, the second five to 408: I can see no pattern. But now add i and ix, ii and viii, iii and vii, iv and vi, and you get 150, 181, 181, 149: a very definite pattern (see diagram). And the numerical pattern cannot possibly be the result of chance, because it accompanies and confirms the pattern observed in the content and to some extent in the form of the poems concerned. Now it is no good saying "I don't believe in numbers" and burying your head in the sand. These are facts, and they have to be faced. They were, of course, first stated by P. Maury, and they would have been accepted sooner and more widely if he had not gone much too far in his pursuit of the significance of number. Nor indeed is there anything wrong with patterns formed by numbers arrived at by adding together the verses of several poems. We find the same thing in the *Monobiblos* of Propertius, the structure of which was explained five years ago.

The relationship between some at any rate of the corresponding poems was shaped by Virgil with very great care. The expropriations in upper Italy provide the subject of *Eclogue* i and the setting of *Eclogue* ix. As poems the two are very different. In i the herdsmen converse on their fate, in ix they do this too but only, as it were, incidentally. In the main they repeat to each other snatches of song. Minute detail is brought in to create an impression of contrasting symmetry: we hear of an omen unheeded in *Eclogue* i 16–17, and of an omen heeded and preventing disaster in ix 14–16. And whereas ix ends with the speakers trudging on towards town in the heat of the day (though there may be some doubt on this last point), the end of i shows them settling down to rest in the

peace of the evening: *et iam summa procul uillarum culmina fumant |
maioresque cadunt altis de montibus umbrae.*

In *Eclogue* ii we have a song of frustrated love, ending, as in Theocritus,
with self-exhortation and somewhat facile resignation: if not that boy,
then another. In viii we have two songs: one ending in despair and the
threat of suicide, the other the Theocritean *Pharmaceutriae*, but not
ending, as in Theocritus, with the moving resignation of the woman to
her fate, but fitted out with a happy ending: the magic works, the lover
comes. Do you observe the pattern? No deep thought here, no need for
fifty pages of abstruse interpretation. The pattern demanded that de-
spair should be answered by happiness in the same poem, despair and
happiness providing the possible alternatives to the resignation of
poem ii.

Both iii and vii are singing matches, and parallelism and contrast can
be seen in the fact that iii begins with a long dialogue whereas vii has
only a narrative introduction; that in iii the singers compete in twenty-
four stanzas of 2 lines, and in vii in twelve stanzas of 4 lines; and that in
iii we have a draw, whereas in vii the better man wins. As a matter of
fact, these two poems are not the only contests. In the beginning of viii,
e.g., we learn that Damon and Alphesiboeus are actually competing with
their songs of despair and of success achieved: *quos est mirata iuvenca |
certantes*. And no wonder: in Theocritus too we have several contests.
There is poem v, where each singer has 15 couplets, then the first
singer one couplet more, to be declared the winner. Then there is
poem viii, where each singer competes with 4 quatrains and a last song of
8 lines, 24 lines each as in Virgil's matches. This time the second singer
is given the prize. And then there is the charming poem vi, where
Daphnis and Damoetas each sing one long song. Then they kiss each
other, and then they begin to play, and the calves begin to skip in the
soft grass. And "neither won the victory but invincible they proved."
Now keep the Theocritean models in mind and you see how Virgil
creates. For his scheme, i/ix, ii/viii, iii/vii, iv/vi, he wanted only two
contests, and for their results he wanted the direct contrasts, draw and
win. The alternation "first singer wins, second singer wins" meant little
to him. And so he employed the draw which Theocritus has in *Idyll* vi,
in *Eclogue* iii, contrasting it with the win in *Eclogue* vii. This left *Eclogue*
viii, modelled on Theocritus vi, without a conclusion, and without a
conclusion it had to be. For had it remained a contest proper with a
decision, it could not have made the companion piece to the monody of
Eclogue ii.

At this point we had better stop and reflect. We have seen that there is

a scheme informing the book as a whole, and that, for the sake of this scheme, certain things happen. The endings of *Eclogues* iii, vii, and viii are variously shaped, adapted, and exchanged; and, apart from the insertion of a detail in i to correspond to a detail in ix, the endings of these two poems are devised to form a pleasing contrast. Two questions arise at this point which are to some extent interrelated: Is the scheme in any way meaningful? And, secondly: Can it help us with major problems of interpretation, such as the question of the identification of Daphnis in v with Julius Caesar, or the significance of the song of Silenus in *Eclogue* vi?

I think we may dismiss without much ado the peculiar theory of Maury, surprisingly still upheld by J. Perret, that the *Eclogues* are a sort of spiritual itinerary, proceeding from *les épreuves de la terre* (i and ix), via *les épreuves de l'amour* (ii and viii) and *la musique* (iii and vii) and divine pronouncements (iv and vi), to the apotheosis of Julius Caesar in the centre. If it were *all* so frightfully mystical and deep, why should Horace have described the nature of the *Eclogues* as *molle atque facetum*?

I have far greater respect for the view expressed by Brooks Otis in his admirable book on Virgil's civilised poetry. As distinct from the individual poems (and he most creditably draws attention to the somewhat surprising contrast himself), Otis finds in the book of the *Eclogues* as a whole "something like a symbolic scheme or structure." And he charges those who recognise the i/ix, ii/viii, iii/vii structure with having failed to supply a convincing *explanation* of the scheme. He himself accepts the scheme, but his explanation is rather based on the division in two halves, i–v and vi–x. It is clear, he claims, that "eclogues i–v are relatively forward-looking, peaceful, conciliatory, and patriotic in a Julio-Augustan sense, where ecl. vi–x are neoteric, ambiguous or polemic, concerned with the past and emotively dominated by *amor indignus*, love which is essentially destructive and irrational and is implicitly inconsistent with (if not hostile to) a strong Roman-patriotic orientation." "The conclusion is irresistible," he says, "that eclogues vi–x were in large part written to form a contrast with ecl. i–v."

Well now, a priori: if I were a poet and wanted to represent five positive aspects of one thing or another and five negative aspects, would I really put all the negative aspects in the second half of my book and let the reader sink into gloom and despair? The answer obviously is No. But let us look at the evidence: it seems to me that violence is done to several poems to force them into the positive-negative mould. And we must certainly reject the misinterpretation of *indignus amor*. "Where were you, nymphs, when Gallus was dying of *amor indignus*?" Pity is

6* ·

here, pity for Gallus, who like Daphnis did not deserve so to die. The idea that Virgil introduced into the bucolic world a note of moral condemnation for love unhappy because unsuitable, moral condemnation for Gallus, whom he set out to honour, is unacceptable to anybody not committed to a theory of positive-negative symbolisms. And much else seems to me unacceptable. In the first of the contests, *Eclogue* iii, the result is a draw: how peaceful! In vii one of the contestants wins: how utterly unpeaceful! And it is the mild, harmonious, and attractive, and in addition technically more accomplished, Corydon who is the victor: how utterly negative! I need not go into detail for i and ix: here Otis' interpretation suffers from the fact that he treats the two poems as though they were identical in subject matter, whereas the evictions are themselves the subject of i, and in ix they only provide the setting for an exchange of songs. In this exchange each singer has a Theocritean stanza and a Roman stanza, a pleasing and well-thought-out alternation. To see in this a negative feature, as distinct from the fusion of the two elements in i, where there is no amoebean principle, is nothing but *petitio* of a rather improbable *principium*. And lastly ii and viii: in ii reason conquers unworthy love (it is nowhere called unworthy, and why should reason here have a symbolical sense which it has not in Theocritus?); in viii death is worked by unworthy love, and Daphnis is bound by a spell: how utterly low! — especially when compared with the victory of reason ("if not this boy, then another") in ii. I think I have given earlier a somewhat more convincing explanation: the ending of the *Pharmaceutriae* was replaced by a happy ending because that was what was needed to make the contrast to despair in the first half of the poem. And despair and fulfilment, together with the resignation of ii, exhaust the possibilities of the ways of love.

No, there is no symbolic structure to the book as a whole. Just as the structures of the individual poems are pretty patterns devoid of meaning except in *one* instance, so the structure of the whole book reveals, with one notable exception, nothing of the essential significance of individual poems. We have seen how certain detail was altered and shaped for the sake of the pattern, and in that sense the pattern is an aid to understanding. But it is surely apparent how hazardous it would be to approach the interpretation of the great mysteries of *Eclogues* v, vi, and x from the preconceived notion of a symbolic structure.

Let us then have a look at these poems, and, having decided what they mean, let us see how they fit into the pattern. We begin with *Eclogue* vi. In the introductory 12 lines of that poem Virgil translates from Callimachus' *Aitia* the story that, when he was about to sing of kings and

wars, Apollo forbade him to do so. "Others, Varus, will praise your deeds. *Non iniussa cano. si quis tamen haec quoque . . . leget.*" The phrase *non iniussa cano* has been a bone of contention for long, and is mistranslated again in the latest *magnum opus* on Virgil by Friedrich Klingner. The problem is quite simply whether *non* is to be taken with *iniussa* as a litotes, or whether it negatives the verb *cano*. The latter is the only possible interpretation because only a negatived *cano* explains the following *tamen*. "If, however, even these humble songs which I do sing find readers." This should never have been questioned; for, when he repeats this selfsame scene from Callimachus, Propertius III iii 15–16 makes Apollo say to the poet: "*quis te / carminis heroi tangere iussit opus?*" — *quis iussit? nemo iussit, iniussum est.* If anyone has any doubt whether the agent, or rather the non-agent, of *iniussa* is Apollo, let him read on two lines and come upon: *nec Phoebo gratior ulla est / quam sibi quae Vari praescripsit pagina nomen.* Perret declares that we do not know why Phoebus is mentioned here. But we *do* know of course. It was Apollo to whom the epic was *iniussum, ingratum*: to him the other songs are *grata*, none more so of course than one dedicated to Varus.

Well then, the *heroum carmen*, forbidden by Apollo, i.e. outlawed by Callimachus and his school, is contrasted with *these* songs, *haec*, which I do sing, which are *grata* to Apollo. They are described as *myricae* since we are in bucolic poetry, and so we have next a bucolic story in eighteen lines, Silenus fettered by the shepherd boys and beginning to sing to them as a reward for setting him free again. Then the song of Silenus. Nothing, to my mind, could be clearer than that this divine singer, whose image is found also in Propertius' poetic cave in III iii, and who therefore is certainly Callimachean, now gives a specimen list of the poetry which is not *iniussa*, which is good poetry in the sense of Alexandria. Let us see how this works. The great model of poetry for Alexandria is no longer Homer but Hesiod, and so we expect the catalogue to begin with didactic poetry. And here it is: ten lines on the creation of the world, which is, perhaps, at the same time the greatest *aition* of all. Then the renewal of mankind by the stones of Pyrrha, and various mythological stories, epyllia (even one story boxed into another in the manner of that poetry), heroic love stories and atrocities, and near the end, but not right at the end because the incongruity of that story in the mouth of Silenus would have been too obvious, the climax of it all, the hallowing of Gallus by the Muses: the hallowing by the Muses because that is the symbol of Hesiodic-Callimachean poetry; and of Gallus because he was the first (and I am not forgetting Ennius) to use that symbol in Latin poetry.

So this seems to work pretty well, but two features have suggested other interpretations both before and after this theory was put forward in this form in 1956. In the first place, the stories told are mostly so very sinister. There is Pasiphae with her bull, there is Scylla, daughter of Nisus, there are Tereus and Philomela. So surely there is some deep symbolism here: we are moving away from the happy times of the *Saturnia regna* mentioned before — into a world of sin! The observation itself is not correct: there is nothing particularly sinister about Atalanta picking up the golden apples and losing the race, or sinful about the Heliads weeping over the death of their brother and being turned into alder trees. But even if the observation were correct, what of it? Where is the symbolism? Does anybody tell stories about people who fall in love with a suitable person, find love's fulfilment, and live happily ever after? Poetry, and especially epyllia, tend to be written about events tragic or monstrous, and so it would be most remarkable if such things did not figure prominently in our catalogue of poetry.

The second argument used to brush aside the theory of a catalogue of "acceptable" poetry, and to establish incidentally a contrast to *Eclogue* iv with its movement towards the Golden Age, is that we have a chronological sequence here, the creation of the world, the creation of animals, the flood, and the various mythological tales. Gallus of course hardly fits in chronologically before the *Scylla Nisi* and Philomela, but this could perhaps be explained away with the argument which I used myself before to account for his position. Personally I do not know whether Hylas came before Pasiphae, or Pasiphae before Atalanta, or Atalanta before the Heliads. But I do know that, if anyone sets out to make a chronological sequence, he should not put the *Saturnia regna* after the flood, and he should certainly not put the *Saturnia regna* after Pyrrha and before her uncle and father-in-law Prometheus. There is no chronological sequence, other than that, most suitably, the didactic poem was made to be about the origin of the world and that it was followed by some early events in the history of mankind. Had there been any deliberate chronological order in the catalogue the poet would seem to have chosen it from a perverse desire to make the introduction of Gallus very difficult for himself.

If, then, *Eclogue* vi is a catalogue of literary themes, in which a certain semblance of chronological order is no more than an incidental ornament, why is it set down as the number opposite to iv? *Eclogue* iv, whether it be taken as a serious expression of longing and hope for a better age, or, as was recently suggested, as a somewhat humorous presentation of the future in store, is the prophecy of the birth of the wonder-child and the

gradual arrival of the Golden Age. In Professor Otis' symbolical struc-
ture the gradual advance towards the Golden Age (positive) is answered
by the gradual movement away from the *Saturnia regna* (negative).
Unfortunately the supposed movement away from the *Saturnia regna*
arrests itself far back in the mythological age of Greece, and the only
mention of modern times, which ought to be even more corrupt, shows
Gallus in happy communion with the entourage of Apollo. There re-
mains, then, nothing in common between the two poems, other than a
certain affinity of tone: both have a significance which transcends the
bucolic world, and both, a feature perhaps indicative of this higher level,
embody divine pronouncements. In iv the higher level is made explicit
by the *paullo maiora canamus* and symbolised by the *siluae* which are to
be worthy of the consul Pollio, to whom they are addressed: in vi the
myricae, the tamarisks, however humble, are made especially dear to
Apollo by being addressed to Varus.

To me it is a matter of great satisfaction that the resemblance is only
one of general tone and perhaps of the one or other external feature. I
can live happily with the idea that Virgil inserts some detail, adapts an
ending for the sake of his symmetry. I could even imagine that he wrote a
second contest in order to balance the first. But in the case of the *paullo
maiora* I really prefer to believe that each had its independent message
and was not written for the sake of, and in its ultimate sense conditioned
by, the other.

Let us now look at v and x, first in themselves and then in their
setting and possible mutual relationship. It seems to me quite strange
that even in the second half of this century it still has to be affirmed that
Eclogue x is a catalogue of the poetry of Cornelius Gallus. For part of
the poem this is of course directly attested by the celebrated comment of
Servius on line 46: "These are all lines of Gallus, taken from his poems."
But the idea of catalogue poetry is so strange to modern critics that they
not only make light of the actual existence of such poetry but forget
the whole climate in which Alexandrian and neoteric poetry arose. The
literary model of that poetry, Hesiod, had written catalogues, and the
Alexandrian poets themselves were librarians: they catalogued in their
Library, they catalogued in their poetry. These things are common
knowledge: it is surprising that they should still need to be stressed. The
mixture of elegiac with bucolic motives in the tenth eclogue — an inter-
twining in which some critics have even seen the essential structure of
that poem — has been used as an argument against the idea of a Gallus
catalogue. As against this we can only use the commonsense argument
that, when Gallus created the personal love elegy by enlarging the

Hellenistic love epigram with motives from other literary forms, he was bound to make copious use of bucolic elements, not only because there was love in bucolic poetry but because bucolic motives were also to be found in the objective mythological elegy. Having used one argument from common sense I will use another, this time a positive one to show that x *must* be, and must be *throughout*, a cento of passages from Gallus. Virgil makes Gallus, dying from love in Arcady, pour out his longings and his laments for Lycoris in a poem which Lycoris herself is to read. Gallus was the creator and the acknowledged master of the love elegy, and the whole poem is to be a tribute to him. If Virgil here were putting his own poetry in the mouth of Gallus as he addresses his Lycoris, why, he would be teaching Gallus how to write love poetry, how to talk to his beloved. The motives *must* be Gallus' own, suitably adapted and woven together to make a basket: *dum sedet et gracili fiscellam texit hibisco.*

Eclogue x, then, is a garland woven from a catalogue of Gallus' poetry. What of v? A rudimentary contest, like viii, it consists of two parallel songs, preceded by a dramatic introduction and followed by a conclusion which has borrowed from Theocritus vi the exchange of gifts. The setting is entirely bucolic, and nothing in the two songs, lamenting the end of Daphnis and rejoicing in his deification, points to Daphnis as being anybody other than just Daphnis. The frame, in fact, positively suggests that he is only that young shepherd-singer, because he is called *puer* and the teacher and predecessor in accomplishment of the younger of the two singers. As far as the poem itself goes, the position is best summed up by what Heyne wrote nearly two centuries ago: "If you look for a meaning beyond what is warranted by the words and assume an allusion to Caesar I shall not object: provided you do not attempt an allegorical interpretation of detail." But, as far as the setting of the poem is concerned, the position has changed greatly since Heyne. We know now that *Eclogue* v is not only the centre of the rings laid around it by the i/ix, ii/viii, iii/vii, iv/vi structure, we know also that the poet has placed it numerically exactly in the centre of that structure: it is preceded by 330 lines, the total of *Eclogues* i–iv, and followed by 331, the total of *Eclogues* vi–ix.

Let me say, by way of a passing caution, that there is no sense whatsoever in the figure 331. Neither do the wild speculations of P. Maury mean anything, nor the fact (not I think observed hitherto, and deserving to be forgotten forthwith) that 331 happens to be 4 × 82.8, the average length of an eclogue, the whole collection having 828 lines. If Perret triumphantly points to the fact that not only i–iv add up to 330 but also

iii and iv and vi and vii, and that not only vi–ix add up to 331 but also i
and ii and viii and ix, he simply overlooks the fact that from certain
numerical premises certain numerical consequences inevitably follow;
and if we take into account the framing of *Eclogue* v we cannot enter-
tain the slightest doubt which is the premise (to wit: the total of i–iv
and the ring pattern) and which the consequence (to wit: the total or
iii + iv + vi + vii).

Standing thus right in the centre of the group from i–ix, numerically
as well as structurally, *Eclogue* v is bound to have a special significance.
And if we recall that in the internal structure of *Eclogue* i it was the
reference to Octavian, unnamed, which occupied, or rather usurped,
the central position, it would require some hardihood to deny that the
idea of the death and deification of Julius enters, indirectly but in-
evitably. Do we, in fact, in the very incongruity of the shepherd-singer
Daphnis and the powerful figure of the dictator grasp something charac-
teristic of the eclogues? For they not only mix Greek and Roman in
extraordinary fashion but seem deliberately to tease and confuse with
their Arcadian shepherds on the banks of the Mincio, their Tityrus who
goes to Rome to win his freedom and returns with permission to stay on
his farm — one and the same thing, that is, according to the poet. What
of the different stages in the approach of the Golden Age in *Eclogue* iv,
the inconsistency of which is the despair of commentators? Perhaps
reality is set at defiance, to leave the reader all the more strongly with
the feeling that reality is somewhat close behind? Perhaps the child of
Eclogue iv belongs to this ambiguous world. I incline to believe that it is
Octavian, seen through the child as Julius is seen through Daphnis.
But this is another story.

What, then, is there in common between a poem listing the poetry of
Gallus, and a poem hinting, in the death and deification of a bucolic
figure, at the events of 44 and 43 B.C.? Nothing as far as the ultimate
sense of the poems is concerned. And why should there be? Just as the
internal patterns vary from eclogue to eclogue, so the features linking
one eclogue to its opposite number may be expected to vary from case to
case. *Eclogue* i was written at the same time to be the introductory poem
of the collection and the pendant to ix: hence identity of scene and of
actors. *Eclogues* ii and viii represent contrary and complementary aspects
of love, iii and vii are contests. When it comes to the *maiora* we must, as
I said before and wish to repeat, not expect even the formal correspond-
ences or contrasts to be too close. For here, if anywhere, the poet did not
create for the sake of any pattern but fitted into it what he had. And so iv
and vi have in common that they are divine pronouncements, one

introduced directly, the other in a narrative; and v and x have in common, as Brooks Otis and others have said, the figure of Daphnis: once the real Daphnis, behind whom, in shadowy outline, there appears the figure of the dictator; once Gallus cast as Daphnis, dying of love in Arcady. Perhaps Virgil was aware and indicated that the connexion between the two was slight: is this the reason why the lines of v and x do not add up to a total which fits into the pattern set by the totals of i and ix, ii and viii, iii and vii, and iv and vi?

Let us reflect once more on these numbers. Little though they mean in themselves, they may to some extent be useful to us. If it were not for the fact that *Eclogues* i and ix, ii and viii, etc., add up to certain figures in a regular pattern, it would be possible to explain that fourfold ring around v as the incidental result of other tendencies, namely the natural desire to separate as far as possible eclogues of similar subject matter, combined with the well-known alternation of dramatic and narrative eclogues. This explanation was in fact given by the first discoverer of the arrangement, E. Krause, in a Berlin thesis of 1884, and it has been repeated independently since. The numbers, however, very strongly suggest that at some stage of the composition of the book the numerically patterned rings became a leading consideration in the poet's mind. How much rewriting and reshaping did it cause? We are, and presumably always shall be, quite unable to say. The position is far less favourable than in the first book of Propertius, where similar problems arise. Propertius, for all his cleverness and *doctrina*, is a far less careful artist than Virgil and has taken far less trouble to integrate the old and the new. And, moreover, in Propertius we have a metrical criterion which helps us to distinguish between old writing and adaptation or new writing. Not so in Virgil, because what slight difference there may be in the use of elision between the earliest eclogues, ii and iii, and the others is not only insufficient as a criterion but intrinsically suspect. So the prospects for progress on these lines are dim, especially as few mortals combine the qualities required: a fertile imagination and the mind of a computer.

Let me in conclusion venture a guess concerning the numbers. The symmetry, as we saw, was not absolute: 330 lines for *Eclogues* i–iv, 331 for *Eclogues* vi–ix. And whereas the two rings in the middle add up to 181 each, the outermost ring had 150 lines, and the innermost ring 149. Exact correspondence could have been obtained by adding one line to *Eclogue* iv. This, however, was ruled out by the internal structure of iv, which we found to be based on the number 7. On the other hand, there is no certainty that Virgil would have preferred absolute symmetry.

There is some ambiguity about this also in Propertius' *Monobiblos*. However that may be, the sequence of 330 for the first four eclogues, 90 for the fifth, 331 for the next four, makes me suspect that Virgil was somehow thinking in terms of the appearance of the book. What I mean appears most clearly if we posit a column of 15 lines. Fifteen lines to the column, resulting in a book of 55 columns, is by no means the likeliest of figures, nor is 30. From our scant knowledge of these things, 22 or 23 may seem more probable. But howsoever, positing 15 lines for the sake of the argument, you see 22 columns on right and left surrounding 6 columns, picked out perhaps by a laurel border on right and left, laurel for Daphnis and laurel for Julius; and then, perhaps set off by another laurel border, 5 columns for Daphnis-Gallus (see diagram). Thus the six columns and the five add up to 11, half of 22, and the proportion of the whole, 50, to the appendix, 5, is as strikingly obvious. "No dimension shall be introduced into a design which shall not be proportionate to another dimension." This is what Penrose said of the Attic temple. Perhaps something similar applies to an Augustan book.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE LONDON

SOME CALLIMACHEAN INFLUENCES
ON PROPERTIUS, BOOK 4

Hugh E. Pillinger

THE fourth book has always been regarded as something of an enigma, if not a paradox.[1] Critics generally concede that it contains some of the poet's most brilliant and successful work, and yet the artistic unevenness of the collection and the seemingly incongruous union of etiological and amatory subjects have prompted serious speculation about the nature of the book and the circumstances surrounding its publication. In the absence of definite biographical data, theories based on the dubious evidence of poem-arrangement have been advanced to show that Book 4 is a posthumous collection of poems found among the poet's effects at the time of his death and subsequently issued by his literary executors. Opponents of this view use the poem-arrangement theory to prove just the opposite, without offering, however, any very definitive solutions to the question. Against the former supposition it may be fairly argued that there is in Book 4 nothing in the way of in-completeness or inconcinnity to suggest that Propertius did not survive its publication or that he did not give the *ultima lima* to the poems con-tained in it. As regards the arrangement of the poems, the deliberate interweaving of antiquarian and amatory material does seem to achieve a general effect of *poikilia* characteristic of the artistry expected in volumes of poetry in this period, though the kaleidoscopic variety of the contents defies overprecise classification.[2] Thus the third elegy, the *epistula metrica* of Arethusa to Lycotas, is generally considered one of the amatory as against the "Roman" or etiological poems, but what could be more Roman in theme than the letter of a young wife to her husband absent on military service at the ends of the Empire? Conversely, the

[2] On the artistic arrangement of the poems of Book 4, see P. Grimal, Coll. *Latomus* 12 (1953) 49–53; E. Burck, *WS* 79 (1966) 405–427.

Tarpeia elegy (4.4), usually classed among the so-called etiological essays, is in effect the story of a tragic love affair.

More significant is the fact that even those who claim to see the hand of the poet in the disposition of the individual poems are inclined to judge the book as a whole a monumental failure, the record of Propertius' inability to carry out his design of writing Roman etiological poetry.[3] What we have, then, according to this customary view, is the skeletal remains of the etiological project fattened and padded, in the interests of publication, with disparate amatory material, the final result being a noble if transparent piece of salvage work. This negative estimate of the book is curiously at odds with the high artistic merit generally noted in the separate poems and is strangely insensitive to the workings of the poet's imagination — as if he were incapable of pursuing several different themes for verse at the same time or of integrating these separate strands into some kind of artistic unity. Whatever its critical value, the judgment derives in large measure from a traditional, though perhaps not altogether valid, interpretation of the introductory poem, or poems, of Book 4, inasmuch as it appears likely that the first elegy is not a single unit, but a pair of related poems.[4]

In the initial poem (4.1.1–70) Propertius announces the antiquarian theme of the book in the form of a topographical survey of ancient Rome, emphasizing at the same time various Roman institutions and historical traditions. As does Virgil in the *Aeneid*, the poet juxtaposes the present greatness of the nation against its humble beginnings and retraces the birth of Rome from the ashes of Troy. His task as he envisions it is to commemorate the history of Rome in a new way — not in the traditional epic cadences of Ennius, but in the elegant style of elegiac verse modeled on the etiological poetry of Callimachus (4.1.61–70):

> Ennius hirsuta cingat sua dicta corona:
>   mi folia ex hedera porrige, Bacche, tua,
> ut nostris tumefacta superbiat Umbria libris,
>   Umbria Romani patria Callimachi!
> scandentis quisquis cernit de vallibus arces,
>   ingenio muros aestimet ille meo!

---

[3] Cf. M. Rothstein, *Die Elegien des Sextus Propertius*, 2nd ed., vol. 1 (1920) 13.

[4] Cf. the discussion of this problem by W. A. Camps, *Propertius: Elegies Book IV* (Cambridge 1965) 45–46; and see, further, F. H. Sandbach's strong arguments for separation in *CQ* 55 (1962) 264–271.

> Roma, fave, tibi surgit opus, date candida cives
> omina, et inceptis dextera cantet avis!
> sacra diesque canam et cognomina prisca locorum:
> has meus ad metas sudet oportet equus.[5]

It is pleasant to find that for once Propertius' enthusiastic claim to the title of Roman Callimachus has a specific relevance beyond the purely formal expression of allegiance to a venerable predecessor in elegy. The etiological intent of his work is clearly expressed (*sacra diesque canam et cognomina prisca locorum*) and with it, the implicit parallel with the *Aitia* of Callimachus. And, while the renunciation of epic is a familiar theme in elegy, the precise rejection in this instance of the Ennian standards of taste and poetic style would seem to reflect fairly accurately the Callimachean polemic in the prologue of the *Aitia* against the proponents of the epic manner.[6]

But no sooner has Propertius expressed his intention of writing on Roman etiological themes than we hear the dissenting voice of the astrologer Horos summoning the love poet back to his customary realm (4.1.71–74):

> quo ruis imprudens, vage, dicere fata, Properti?
> non sunt a dextro condita fila colo.
> accersis lacrimas cantans, aversus Apollo:
> poscis ab invita verba pigenda lyra.

The mention of Apollo's reluctance recalls an earlier scene in which the god warned the poet to abandon a lofty theme in favor of more congenial subjects (Prop. 3.3.13–24), and the motif goes back through Virgil precisely to the *Aitia* prologue.[7] Horos has here effectively usurped the traditional role of Apollo, but later, after some lengthy proofs of his prophetic powers, he refers again to the importance of the god in shaping Propertius' poetic talents in what appears to be a peculiarly Roman adaptation of elements from the more theoretical Callimachean text (4.1.133–134):

> tum tibi pauca suo de carmine dictat Apollo
> et vetat insano verba tonare foro.[8]

[5] Quotations from Propertius follow E. A. Barber's Oxford text of 1960.
[6] Cf. Callim. *Ait.* 1, frag. 1.1–5 Pf.
[7] Callim. *Ait.* 1, frag. 1.21–24 Pf.; Virg. *Ecl.* 6.3ff.
[8] W. Suerbaum, *RhM* 107 (1964) 345 n. 16, observes that the immediate reference of *vetat insano verba tonare foro* is to the elegiac poet's customary aversion to an active political career, while there seems to be a secondary allusion as well to vv. 19–20 of the *Aitia* prologue. Cf. also Prop. 2.1.39–40.

Scholars have interpreted the injunctions of Horos as evidence of Propertius' dissatisfaction with, and ultimate abandonment of, the etiological work. They view the second poem as a kind of palinode to the claims of the first, a poetic afterthought introduced to justify the presence of so much amatory material in the book.[9] It is true that predictions of Propertius' fascination with love poetry form as appropriate an introduction to the amatory poems of Book 4 as the *periegesis* of ancient Rome to the etiological essays, but whether specific inferences about the private motivation of the poet ought to be drawn from the circumstance remains doubtful. What Propertius seems to have written is a very elaborate *recusatio* poem — the *recusatio* to end all *recusationes*, one suspects — based ultimately on the apologetic prologue of Callimachus' *Aitia*, though the elements of the original are almost lost amid the baroque ornamentation of the adaptation. Horos too is admittedly a grotesque descendant of Callimachus' Lycian Apollo, but the theoretical formulation of the *recusatio* motif is in its way a fitting introduction to Propertius' own etiological corpus and an original solution to the problem of presenting the hybrid aspect of Book 4.

It is evident that the *recusatio*-like design of 4.1.71–150 has the effect of polarizing the contents of the book into two broad categories — etiological and amatory poetry. And, generally speaking, this simple polarity of subject matter is just and appropriate; for the element of etiology is the single most extensive and significant new feature in Book 4 beside the customary amatory material. But far more impressive in the book is the startling breadth of interest and the sudden widening of the poet's literary spectrum. Nothing in the preceding books quite prepares the reader for the new variety and versatility he encounters in Book 4, and it would seem that Propertius is making here a bold attempt to extend the traditional provenance of elegy, to enlarge effectively the narrow dimensions of Roman elegiac convention by turning elegy to new poetic uses and by adapting various other forms and styles of poetry to the elegiac mode.

There is in Book 4 a spirit of experiment and innovation apparent at once in the new etiological focus of the work as a whole, but equally evident in other aspects of form and manner. So, for example, the Arethusa poem (4.3) in its thoroughly epistolary cast is unparalleled before Propertius, but anticipates the *Heroides* of Ovid. The much-admired *laudatio* of Cornelia (4.11) incorporates motifs from the *epicedium*; 4.6 and 9 are both in effect elegiac hymns, while in 4.8 we

---

[9] Cf., for example, J. Fontenrose, *CPCP* 13 (1949) 386.

have the equivalent of an elegiac satire. Similarly, the story of Tarpeia's betrayal of Rome (4.4) is a narrative executed in the manner of a Hellenistic "epyllion." Examples such as these highlight one facet of the *poikilia* characteristic of Book 4, namely the endeavor to accommodate various literary genres within the formal outlines of elegy. Propertius combines and blends these discrete elements with masterful skill, and it is perhaps the substantial enlargement of the elegiac tradition represented by Book 4 that the poet has in mind when he formulates his ambitious plans in the opening elegy. Certainly the achievement is a significant measure of his claim to the mantle of Callimachus over and above the obvious appeal to a likeness of etiological theme.

The new aspect of Book 4 is noticeable even in the more amatory elegies (3, 5, 7, 8, 11). Just as the etiological essays seem to reflect Propertius' growing awareness of a realm for elegy significantly wider and more impressive than that of the strictly personal love lyrics identified with the Cynthia poetry, so the amatory pieces of the fourth book are quite unlike the poet's earlier work.[10] In all of them a more or less objective narrative has replaced the customary subjective tone and coloring. Cynthia appears in only two (7 and 8), and then from a distant perspective. The poet is not personally engaged with any of the other figures, and the love to which Arethusa and Cornelia testify is essentially of a different order from that once expressed by Cynthia and Propertius. In the Acanthis poem (4.5) we seem to be eavesdropping along with the poet on a grotesque scene from comedy, as the vicious *lena* instructs her charge in the ways of her profession.

The two poems in which Cynthia appears offer particularly dramatic evidence of the new direction that Propertius' poetry has taken. We might expect to find in them a return to the old style and sentiments, but the poet deliberately avoids retracing his course. In the first (4.7) the dead Cynthia materializes before the eyes of the poet as a ghostly apparition from the Underworld, a frail *imago* of her former self. She reproaches him for his indifferent behavior at her funeral, defends the fidelity of her own love for him, and instructs him on the site and inscription for her tomb. Cynthia's eloquent plea, morbid and passionate by turns, is a moving document of feminine insight and feeling, yet the distance that now separates the two former lovers is the gulf between the living and the dead. Propertius views the relationship with a new objectivity that the fact of death confers.

---

[10] See, on the new character of the amatory poems in Book 4, E. Reitzenstein, *Philologus* suppl. 39, 2 (1936) 41.

The other Cynthia poem (4.8) is much lighter in tone. It purports to record Propertius' disastrous attempt to seek a night of dalliance with a pair of *viles puellae* who substitute, *faute de mieux*, for Cynthia off on an adventure of her own. Her unexpected return, however, reduces the party to pandemonium until the poet finally agrees to the terms of reconciliation imposed by his outraged mistress. A satire in effect, the story moves at a leisurely pace with expansive asides on the setting and principal actors. Elements of colloquial realism alternate with grandiloquent phrases, and the whole sordid theme is exquisitely ennobled by a mock-heroic style.[11] The elegy preserves a precious moment in the *cursus amoris* of Propertius and gives us a vivid picture of Cynthia's personality. Yet the anecdotal cast of the narrative and the touches of humor and irony that Propertius elicits from the events make this poem as "objective" in a sense as any of the amatory elegies in Book 4. No longer the passionate lover, Propertius has become a genial narrator who finds upon reflection that this wild scene with Cynthia is more amusing than it once seemed.

In general, then, the amatory elegies of the fourth book as compared with the poet's earlier efforts seem to resemble almost formal portraits of women in love. Much of the former intimacy and informality has been replaced by greater stylization and detachment. This is not to suggest a lack of sympathy on the poet's part. The figures of Arethusa and Cornelia in particular are developed with considerable compassion and insight, yet the poet stands at some distance from his subject, more an observer than a participant. This increasingly objective, impersonal style parallels to some degree the Callimachean focus of the book. For it would appear that Propertius has moved from the typically Roman concept of love elegy with its emphasis on the evocation of an intensely personal relationship toward a closer approximation of the indirectness and "objectivity" characteristic of Hellenistic Greek elegy. Instead of simply documenting the poet's private emotional life, the love poems no less than the etiological pieces of Book 4 have evolved into highly analytical narratives.[12] Judged from this point of view, the supposed dichotomy between the amatory and etiological elegies is more apparent than real; both reflect a similar artistic sensibility in the poet,

---

[11] The parody of the epic manner is evident in points of style and diction. Cf. H. Tränkle, *Hermes* Einzelschr. 15 (1960) 178–183.

[12] In the etiological poem on Tarpeia (4.4), for example, one of the chief interests of the poet is the delineation of the emotional state of the heroine distressed by a πάθος ἀμήχανον.

who now interprets the phenomena of love with the same enlightened
detachment as the facts of history or legend.

Another feature suggestive of the Hellenistic and Callimachean tone
of Book 4 is the element of playful irony and wit, already evident in the
earlier books, but now employed with greater effect.[13] We have noticed
that the story of Cynthia's revenge (4.8) is presented as a comic drama
in broadly humorous strokes. But the initial elegies of the book are also
willfully ironic, the poet's proud claims being humorously refuted by
the bizarre astrologer. It is as if Propertius were announcing his deter-
mination not to be taken too seriously in this or in other matters. The
attitude is apparent again in the poet's treatment of the Hercules–
Bona Dea narrative (4.9): he slyly deflates an august legend by exposing
the humor implicit in certain details of the story.[14] Examples of this sort
point to Propertius' eagerness to imitate something of the sophistication
and subtlety that Callimachus and other Hellenistic poets regularly
observe in their poetry. After all, the Alexandrian scholar-poet evi-
dently was prepared to acknowledge on occasion the propriety of a
timely laugh (*Ep.* 35 Pf.):

> Βαττιάδεω παρὰ σῆμα φέρεις πόδας εὖ μὲν ἀοιδήν
> εἰδότος, εὖ δ' οἴνῳ καίρια συγγελάσαι.

It is the genial, if slightly ironical, smile of Callimachus that seems to
reappear at times in Propertius' fourth book.[15] And the spirit that
Propertius adopts is once again evidence of his desire to escape the in-
veterate naïveté of outlook demanded by the conventions of Roman
love poetry.

Before proceeding to a more detailed examination of this and other
features, it may be well to review briefly the impression given by the
book as a whole. Book 4 apparently represents the culmination of
Propertius' poetic career, and in it we seem to discern a reappraisal of
the poet's aims and interests as well as a new definition of his stature.
Such at any rate is the implication of the innovations in theme and man-
ner. While it is narrowly "Callimachean" in etiological focus, certain
broader and more profound areas of contact with Callimachus and the
traditions of Hellenistic poetry are to be found in the wider poetic
perspective informing the book, the artful variety of its contents, the
enlargement of the traditional dimensions of Roman elegy through the

---

[13] Cf. J. P. Sullivan, *Arion* 5 (1966) 10, for "Callimachean wit" in Propertius.
[14] Cf. P. Boyancé, "Properce," *L'influence grecque sur la poésie latine* (Fonda-
tion Hardt, Entret. 2, Geneva 1956) 195.
[15] Cf. B. Snell, *The Discovery of the Mind* (Cambridge, Mass. 1953) 269–272.

assimilation of diverse poetic *genera* to the elegiac form. And to these several tendencies should be added the more "objective" and analytical treatment of amatory motifs combined with a sophistication and sense of proportion not always in evidence in the poet's earlier work. It is this broad grasp of elegiac poetry that seems to be indicated in Propertius' identification with Callimachus, as much as the parallel in details of etiology.

But if this identification extends beyond purely etiological interests, it is nevertheless in Propertius' etiological poems — Vertumnus (2), Tarpeia (4), Actium (6), Hercules (9), and Jupiter Feretrius (10) — that we might reasonably expect to find the most obvious reminiscences of Callimachus. Indeed, Propertius is quite specific about the generic resemblance between these poems of Book 4 and the Callimachean *Aitia* collection. And his proud claim, *Umbria Romani patria Callimachi*, suggests that the influence of Callimachus in this instance will be impressive. Yet at first glance such an assumption strangely appears to be unwarranted or at best exaggerated. It is possible to scan these elegies without detecting any pervasive Callimachean inspiration beyond the superficial similarity of etiological content, so thoroughly Roman do they seem in theme, so typically Propertian in treatment.

Our initial disappointment should be tempered, however, with the reflection that it is one token of the poet's originality. The genius of Propertius, as is that of every gifted poet, is ultimately all his own, despite his invocation of models and precedent. And it takes little acumen to discover that Propertius is never more himself than when he is ostensibly bowing to his predecessors. Still, within the terms of this fundamental proviso, it is possible to demonstrate that Propertius' avowed commitment to Callimachus is no idle claim; that his etiological poems exhibit points of resemblance not only with the *Aitia*, but also with other major works in the Callimachean corpus; that such similarities as exist transcend simple etiological imitation and reside more often in the poet's imaginative sense, in qualities of tone and manner, or in the style and artistic conception of individual poems. A case in point is the Vertumnus elegy.

I. VERTUMNUS (4.2)

Unlike the majority of the etiological elegies, which are generally neglected by critics and students alike as being too formidable or esoteric for genuine enjoyment, the poem on the Etruscan god Vertumnus (4.2) has enjoyed considerable favor with commentators and a certain popularity in collections of the poet's work. It is true that Propertius in this

instance has made a rather successful poem out of what might seem an unlikely antiquarian subject. The old statue of Vertumnus on the Vicus Tuscus with its array of symbolic tokens (*Vertumni signa*, 2) must have appeared to a Roman of the Augustan Age as something of a curiosity. But Propertius in his literary re-creation of the scene has given life and charm to the picture by allowing the odd piece of statuary to speak in its own person. Vertumnus speaks, and the reader is delighted to find in this antique relic a raconteur of the first order, discoursing in a lively colloquial style on his origin, the derivations of his name, and the Protean changes characteristic of his nature. One is tempted to speculate that it is largely the poet's decision to execute the elegy in the manner of a speaking monument poem that accounts for its special popularity.

Although the technique of having a monument tell its own story is familiar from sepulchral and dedicatory epigrams,[16] it seems at first glance a striking innovation in a poem of such length as Propertius' Vertumnus elegy. But, in the case of a poet so thoroughly conversant with the conventions of Greek and Latin poetry and so enthusiastic in his declaration of affinity with the masters of Hellenistic Greek elegy, we are entitled, perhaps even obliged, to look about for possible literary antecedents to the Vertumnus poem, if we intend to arrive at some understanding of Propertius' aims and his art in this instance. The quest leads naturally to Callimachus.

Appropriately enough, there exists in Callimachus' *Aitia* a fragment of a poem bearing a suggestive resemblance in theme and manner to Propertius' story of Vertumnus. This is the poem on the Delian Apollo (frag. 114 Pf.) in which the statue of the god answers the questions of an unnamed interlocutor (possibly the poet himself) regarding his physical appearance and the symbolic tokens that he holds in his hands. After several introductory lines of dialogue, the god speaks at some length on the meaning of the bow in his left and the Graces in his right hand, although the fragmentary state of the poem makes the gist of his story (or stories) difficult to ascertain.[17] The presence of a poem of this nature

---

[16] For examples of sepulchral epigrams of a dialogue type that give explanations of symbols on the gravestone, see D. M. Robinson, *Anatolian Studies presented to Sir W. M. Ramsay* (London 1923) 343 n. 1. Professor Zeph Stewart has called my attention to the similarity between the Vertumnus motif and a Hellenistic talking grave stele recovered at Sardis with a verse inscription explaining the symbols carved on the stone: cf. W. H. Buckler and D. M. Robinson, *Sardis* VII (Leiden 1932) pt. 1, pp. 108–109 = (with slight textual differences) *SEG* IV 634.

[17] This fragment is the subject of a fascinating study by R. Pfeiffer, *JourWarb* 15 (1952) 20–32 = *Ausgewählte Schriften* (Munich 1960) 55–71.

— a description of a celebrated statue through the words of the statue itself — in Callimachus' *Aitia* provides a clue perhaps to Propertius' conception and execution of his own etiological essay on Vertumnus, though admittedly the similarity rests in general form and subject rather than in specific parallels. Significantly missing in the Propertian poem is the element of dialogue, but the direct manner of Vertumnus' opening words fairly suggests that he is answering the curious stare or puzzled questions of an interested passerby (4.2.1–2):

> qui mirare meas tot in uno corpore formas,
>   accipe Vertumni signa paterna dei.

Conversely, the considerable space devoted by Propertius to the etiology of Vertumnus' name (9–12, 19–22, 47–48) evidently has no parallel in the poem on the Delian Apollo. But another Callimachean poem in this same style develops in detail the etymological element. This is the seventh in Callimachus' collection of *Iambi* (frag. 197 Pf.), an explanation of the significance of an obscure cult title borne by Hermes in the Thracian town of Aenus. As in the case of the Apollo piece, this poem too is cast in the form of a speech by the herm itself. Little has survived of the actual poem, but the accompanying *diegesis* outlines the story told by Hermes, ending in the aition of the title *Perpheraios*. Interesting in a comparison with the Vertumnus poem, aside from the speaking statue motif, is the similarity of etiological focus, both poems being in effect efforts in the etymological explanation of the name or title of a deity, and in both the god's presentation resembles an *aretalogy* of sorts, a narrative catalogue of the *dunameis* inherent in the divinity.

In addition to *Iambus* 7 a companion piece, *Iambus* 9, is composed in the style of a speaking monument poem. Here the subject is again the cult of Hermes, but in this case it is an ithyphallic herm who, being questioned on the cause of his condition, gives an explanation based on a mystical story. The use of dialogue resembles the Delian Apollo poem in the *Aitia* as well as several of Callimachus' epigrams (*Ep.* 13, 34, 61 Pf.). The most notable aspect, however, of all three of these poems — in which a talking statue is the source of information about itself — is the fact that they apparently represent attempts by Callimachus to enlarge and develop the speaking monument motif of the sepulchral-dedicatory epigram through the addition of an etiological narrative. They are the only extant Greek poems conceived in this style that extend beyond the customary dimensions of the epigram. Their novelty in this regard may account for the interest of subsequent writers in producing comparable

pieces in the same vein. At least the satiric and abusive intent of *Iambus* 9 presages the Latin *Priapea* and is distinctly reminiscent of Tibullus 1.4, where Priapus figures as a confidant and preceptor in amatory matters,[18] while Horace's garrulous garden god (*Serm.* 1.8) also seems to have distant relatives in this Callimachean trio of vocal monuments. For Propertius it is entirely appropriate to choose to compose his etiological essay on Vertumnus in the style of poems uniquely identified with the name and genius of Callimachus.

The conclusion of the Propertian poem deserves some comment in this connection. At the end of his narrative Vertumnus pays a brief tribute to the artisan responsible for giving him his present form (59–64):

> stipes acernus eram, properanti falce dolatus,
> ante Numam grata pauper in urbe deus.
> at tibi, Mamurri, formae caelator aenae,
> tellus artifices ne terat Osca manus,
> qui me tam docilis potuisti fundere in usus.
> unum opus est, operi non datur unus honos.

The mention of Mamurius Veturius, the legendary craftsman of Numa's shields, parallels a conventional formula in poems of this sort strongly influenced by the dedicatory epigram.[19] Horace's *olim truncus eram . . .* (*Serm.* 1.8.1) is most often cited by commentators to illustrate the idiom here, but the topic also occurs at the beginning of Callimachus, *Iambus* 7, where Hermes Perpheraios describes his statue as a *parergon* of Epeus, a craftsman better known as the builder of the Trojan horse. Though the phrasing of the Propertian poem resembles Horace, the specificity with respect to the name of an archetypal artist and the implement involved (*properanti falce*, 59; cf. σ]κέπαρνον . . . *Iamb.* 7.5) is more in the manner of the Callimachean work. Significantly, in the Vertumnus poem Propertius has reserved this epigrammatic motif for the ending and not, as is more customary, the beginning of the narrative. And the reference to Mamurius in the form of a direct address is an embellishment characteristic of the poet.[20]

---

[18] The possible relationship of Callim. *Iamb.* 9 and Tib. 1.4 is discussed by C. M. Dawson, *AJP* 67 (1946) 12–13.

[19] For the pertinent literary antecedents behind this section of the Vertumnus poem, see E. Fraenkel, *Horace* (Oxford 1957) 121–123.

[20] On Propertius' predilection for apostrophe, especially in the concluding lines of a poem, cf. W. Abel, *Die Anredeformen bei den römischen Elegikern* (Berlin 1930) 52.

2. HERCULES (4.9)

If the Vertumnus poem owes something in details of its formal design to the influence of the *Aitia* and *Iambi*, the elegy on the myth of Hercules at Rome (4.9) is even more thoroughly Callimachean in tone and manner. The elegy has been variously interpreted in the past, but only in recent years has there been any significant appreciation of the sophisticated wit and humor underlying the Propertian version of the legend. Scholars have traditionally explained this poem on Hercules as either a moving elegiac portrait of the heroic sufferer or a specimen of Augustan propaganda similar to, if somewhat less successful than, the Virgilian treatment of the hero in *Aeneid* 8. A recent study, however, has attempted to correct these estimates by maintaining that in tone and intent the poem is neither a sympathetic nor especially patriotic portrayal of Hercules, but rather a clever adaptation of a stock elegiac convention — the paraclausithyron of the excluded lover.[21] There seems to be considerably more justice in this latter view of the poet's art and sensibilities; still, the *exclusus amator* motif is only a single element, albeit an important one, within a larger context of humor and irony informing this poem. In view of Propertius' avowed interest in Hellenistic poetry, one might reasonably expect his hymnic celebration of Hercules to be not a sober version in the Homeric sense but a playful interpretation conceived in the spirit of Callimachus' own hymns and executed with the same unusual sense of perspective.

Propertius' very choice of subject gives an early suggestion of the Hellenistic-neoteric orientation of the poem, for the legend of the battle of Hercules and Cacus and the founding of the Ara Maxima had already received extensive treatment at about the time of his poem, a situation tailor-made for a poet who by an apt display of novelty or originality could make a virtue of the necessity of traversing a well-worn route. In addition, the myth provided rich etiological possibilities. There were ancient institutions and ritual customs to be interpreted and explained in accordance with the poet's learning or, more often, his imagination. It is characteristic of Propertius' approach that he renders the more familiar Hercules-Cacus episode as a succinct introductory sketch, while reserving the relatively *intacta via* of the Bona Dea tale for lengthier treatment. Thus his elegiac account is novel in several ways: in the presentation of a "new" side of the Hercules story and in the transformation of an epic theme into a vehicle suitable for expressing essentially humorous, neoteric sentiments.

[21] W. S. Anderson, *AJP* 85 (1964) 1–12.

Propertius has taken great care to set his irreverent story of Hercules in a frame of proper religious solemnity. Thus the poem concludes with the conventional χαῖρε ... prayer of a hymn (4.9.71–72):

> Sancte pater salve, cui iam favet aspera Iuno:
> Sancte, velis libro dexter inesse meo.

This formulaic close encourages the reader to recall the ritual *envoi* of many a Homeric and Callimachean hymn; and an even more relevant parallel is the concluding prayer of the hymn of the Salii in Virgil (*Aen.* 8.301–302):

> salve, vera Iovis proles, decus addite divis,
> et nos et tua dexter adi pede sacra secundo.

The beginning of the poem is similarly elevated in tone and diction. The ample Greek patronymic with which the poem opens, followed by the archaic *tempestas* phrase, and the development of the exordium in a grand six-line period, establish immediately an august and impressive atmosphere for the narrative of Hercules' exploits. And throughout the poem the poet has chosen to entertain several archaisms redolent of the epic manner.[22] It is the care with which Propertius has displayed his seeming allegiance to the epic, heroic interpretation of the Hercules myth that has beguiled many critics into misjudging the intent of the poet. Much of the content of the poem is *formally* appropriate to a solemn hymn to Hercules, but within the formal exterior of epic and hymnic convention reside elements that would be incongruous in a truly serious celebration of Herculean virtues.[23] The situation is not unlike that found in the Callimachean hymns. On the periphery of his compositions Callimachus, like Propertius, scrupulously maintains an aura of simple religious faith and fervor, yet inside the hymnic frame his treatment of *res sacrae* is apt to be dictated by a sophisticated play of wit and humor, and his sober composure is often betrayed by a sly smile of irony.[24] This curious mixture of wit and piety is a hallmark of the Callimachean hymn; it is also a fundamental ingredient of Propertius' account of Hercules.

---

[22] Cf. Tränkle (above, n. 11) 31, 34.

[23] Cf. L. P. Wilkinson, "Greek Influence on the Poetry of Ovid," *L'influence grecque* (above, n. 14) 237.

[24] Cf. K. J. McKay, *Mnemosyne* suppl. 6 (1962) 51–52, on the relationship of form and content in the hymns of Callimachus.

It need hardly surprise us, then, if the alert reader detects even in the august opening of the poem a rather odd note. Propertius describes the arrival of Hercules and his cattle at Rome in a particularly artful line (3):

> venit ad invictos pecorosa Palatia montis.

Commentators have appreciated in *invictos montis* the poet's oblique glance at the familiar cult title of *Hercules Invictus* and his playful reference in *pecorosa Palatia* to a popular etymology.[25] They have failed to note, however, the significance of a stylistic nuance in the disposition of the verse. Propertius has cast the description of the Palatine, *invictos pecorosa Palatia montis*, in the form of a parenthetic or "Hellenistic" appositional construction, one of the exquisite figures of neoteric verse, but a stylistic embellishment apparently not at home in epic.[26] Thus the young Virgil uses appositions of this sort freely in the *Eclogues* — *raucae tua cura palumbes* (1.57), *inter densas umbrosa cacumina fagos* (2.3) = *veteres iam fracta cacumina fagos* (9.9) — and similar mannered expressions: *vina novum fundam calathis Ariusia nectar* (5.71), *infelix o semper oves pecus* (3.3), *Nymphae noster amor Libethrides* (7.21). But the only example of anything at all similar in the *Aeneid* is the eloquent tribute to the two Scipios in Book 6.842–843: *geminos, duo fulmina belli / Scipiadas*, a description that reflects Ennian precedent. Yet it is indicative of Virgil's unique conception of the epic form that his "quotation" of Ennius is articulated in the manner of the new poets.[27] Propertius has aimed at a somewhat similar effect here. He carefully preserves in *pecorosa Palatia* a trace of the alliterative ornamentation of archaic Latin verse, but his precious neoteric articulation of the line provides the first slight intimation of the real stylistic alignment of the poem. For the reader who expected a traditional hymnic encomium it is a gentle and not altogether unpleasant shock.

Perhaps the best parallel to this subtle tactic of surprise is found in the opening of the Callimachean *Hymn to Artemis*. Callimachus begins in traditional form with a catalogue of the goddess' pursuits, her interest in archery and dancing, but critics have boggled at the poet's sly variation

---

[25] Varro *Ling. Lat.* 5.53, on the derivation of *Palatium: eundem hunc locum a pecore dictum putant quidam; itaque Naevius Balatium appellat.* The poem abounds in "learned" etymological aitia.

[26] Discussions of this figure and references to earlier literature in E. Norden, *Aeneis Buch VI*, 3rd ed. (Leipzig 1927) 117 *ad* v. 7; O. Skutsch, *RhM* 99 (1956) 198–199.

[27] I owe this observation on the *Aeneid* to Professor Clausen.

of the conventional formulas: the Callimachean Artemis is no longer the famous deer-slayer (ἐλαφηβόλος Φ486, ζ104, *Hom. Hy.* 27.2, etc.) but an avid hunter of rabbits (λαγωβολίαι, v. 2). The emphasis on a less heroic *dunamis* of the goddess paves the way for the poet's larger innovations upon tradition — his portrait of the goddess as a small child, which forms the first major section of the hymn.[28] In a similar way in the poem of Propertius the comic implications become broader after the first hint of humor in *pecorosa Palatia*.

Having set the scene of Hercules' arrival at Rome, Propertius proceeds with a brief account of the hero's battle against Cacus (vv. 7–20), ending the episode with an etiological explanation of the *Forum Boarium*. The allusive brevity of the narrative at this point is perfectly clear, but it is hardly sufficient to interpret the poet's concise manner as a concession to the reader's *general* familiarity with the Cacus legend; for the real effect of Propertius' elegiac narrative of Hercules and Cacus depends not so much upon a general acquaintance with the story as upon the specific recall of an epic version of the myth, preferably such a version as is found in Virgil. Certainly "echoes" of Virgil or Livy are to be expected from Propertius, but several other touches reveal in addition the poet's playful distortion of the tradition. Thus his apparent invention of the epithet *implacidus* to describe the doors of Cacus' cave (14) brings a slight smile to the reader who, remembering Virgil's grisly description of these same doors (*Aen.* 8.196–197) and his account of Hercules' titanic struggle to gain entrance (8.225–246), now finds the terror and heroics summed up with a laconic reference to "the ungentle doors" of the monster's dwelling.

We find in fact that Propertius' non-epic treatment of Hercules is enhanced by the humorous value he attaches to the motif of the driving of the cattle of Geryon. The pastoral element prominent in this Labor gives the poet the opportunity to cast his hero in a distinctly Hellenistic mold. No longer is Hercules the great knight-errant of antiquity, but a hero of a different stamp, the ἥρως βουκολικός.[29] The naïve bravado and desperate pleading of his speech to the priestess of the Bona Dea reproduce with characteristic Propertian exaggeration the effects of comedy implicit in the utterances of Theocritus' Cyclops and Virgil's Corydon. And it is surely no accident that the bucolic Hercules addresses his cattle with the

---

[28] Cf. H. Herter, *Xenia Bonnensia* (Bonn 1929) 58–59.

[29] Tib. 2.3.11–32, the myth of Apollo pasturing the flocks of Admetus, is a good example of the humor implicit in the Hellenistic approach to bucolic episodes in traditional saga.

same cadences that those elegant rustics, Thyrsis and Meliboeus, use: *ite boves, Herculis ite boves* (16–17). The reader can fairly hear the refrains in the *Eclogues* on the order of *ite domum saturae, venit Hesperus, ite capellae* (10.77). A final bit of humor brought to play in this first episode is the fanciful aition that Propertius puts in the mouth of the hero: *arvaque mugitu sancite Bovaria longo* (19). Varro knew better, of course; but obviously we should not expect too much from Hercules in the way of critical acumen.

The hero speaks — and thirst tortures his parched throat (*dixerat, et sicco torquet sitis ora palato*, 21). Again Propertius has subtly undercut an epic convention. For the *dixerat et* . . . formula (Homeric ἦ καί . . . or ἦ ῥα καί . . .) is frequently used to express the simultaneity of word and action that characterizes divine behavior. Thus, for example, the poet's Actian Apollo no sooner prophesies the success of Octavian than he empties his quiver against the enemy: *dixerat, et pharetrae pondus consumit in arcus* (Prop. 4.6.55). But here the sudden attack of thirst is in humorous contrast to the impressive results that usually accompany divine utterances. And the detail of extreme thirst that motivates the whole narrative of Hercules' incursion upon the Bona Dea sanctuary is a familiar trait in the comic representation of the hero. After the half-amused portrait of Hercules βουκολικός it is an easy step to the more generous outlines of the Caliban figure of Attic Comedy.

Propertius could even find precedents for his comic treatment of Hercules within the works of his model Callimachus. In the first book of the *Aitia* occur the accounts of the Lindian Sacrifice (frags. 22–23 Pf.) and the Theiodamus story (frags. 24–25 Pf.), both etiological narratives that explain ritual procedure and terminology on the basis of Hercules' notorious gluttony. The parallel with Propertius' own explanation of the Ara Maxima rites on the basis of Hercules' insatiable thirst (65–70) is perhaps more than accidental. In addition, the Callimachean *Hymn to Artemis* offers a superb burlesque of the hero and his enormous appetite. He is there described in a delightful scene (142–161) eagerly receiving any fat morsels the goddess brings home from her hunting, and advising her with a κερδαλέος λόγος that her targets ought not to be innocent deer and rabbits, but great boars and oxen, the real plagues of mankind. Even his mother-in-law Hera laughs to see him lugging off a large bull or wild boar. It is difficult not to recall the spirit of this scene when Propertius recounts the cunning speech of Hercules to the Bona Dea priestess (33–50).

But before he presents the dialogue between Hercules and the priestess, Propertius ornaments his narrative with an elaborate description of

the landscape containing the sacred grove and the shrine of Bona Dea (23–30). Just as in the poem on Hylas (1.20) the magical scene of the spring at Pege preceded the appearance of the youth at the water's edge, so here the scenic account sets the stage for Hercules' second adventure. The details in the picture — the shadowy glen echoing with the muted laughter of young girls; the glimmer of incense from a shrine now fallen into ruins; above, a stately poplar and the song of birds in the deep shade — provide a background of idyllic charm and innocence for the arrival of our rude hero upon the scene. In keeping with the ecphrasis style of the passage, the verses exhibit carefully wrought patterns of adjective-noun combinations, including several illustrations of the "golden line" configuration. Each line is constructed as a self-contained unit with end-stopped punctuation, a familiar mannerism of the narrative verse of Catullus and the neoterics. Characteristic of this manner too is the placement of the verb in the center of the line surrounded by multiple brackets of nouns and epithets.[30] We have, then, in this picture of the sylvan scene almost a set piece fashioned in elegant neoteric style, the elegiac counterpart, as Heinze observed, to the epic description of Cacus' cave in Virgil (*Aen.* 8.190ff).[31]

The hero rushes up, thirsty and disheveled, and utters his words of entreaty before the shrine, *verba minora deo*. The speech that follows is a masterpiece of satire and innuendo. Beginning in the elevated tone of high tragedy, it gradually descends to comic bathos.[32] Hercules pleads for a mere palmful of water — *et cava succepto flumine palma sat est* (36); the language is solemn and liturgical, reminiscent of formulae for ritual purification, as in the prayer of Aeneas to the nymphs (*Aen.* 8.69–70): *rite cavis undam de flumine palmis / sustinet.* Yet once more there is comedy lurking beneath the hieratic solemnity, for the tactful effort of the hero to minimize his request contrasts amusingly with the eventual outcome. In fact such is his gargantuan thirst that he drains the stream dry (*exhausto iam flumine vicerat aestum*, 63), though he said a swallow of water would be sufficient. Hercules then supports his plea with a recital of several of his more notable exploits, but the aretalogy concludes with an allusion to perhaps the most unheroic of his adventures: his service at the court of the Lydian queen Omphale disguised as a woman (47–50). The manner in which he deprecates his uncouth and

---

[30] See the study of word order in Latin poetry by C. W. Conrad, *HSCP* 69 (1965) 195–258.

[31] R. Heinze, *Ovids elegische Erzählung* (Leipzig 1919) 82.

[32] D. R. Shackleton Bailey, *Propertiana* (Cambridge 1956) 315, cites Jebb on Soph. *Oed. Col.* 148 for the "tragic" plural *defessis viris* (34).

sunburnt appearance with a reference to this ignoble episode is the final
touch in the brilliant comic inversion of his stature. And the very
articulation of the line *mollis et hirsutum . . .* (49) underlines the ludi-
crous incongruity of the hero's arguments. *Talibus Alcides*; with mali-
cious irony Propertius repeats the proud patronymic with which the
hero had styled himself (38) immediately following the tale of his
"feminine pursuits."[33] Any lingering doubt in the reader's mind con-
cerning the poet's real intentions ought to be thoroughly dispelled at
this point. The dethronement of the epic Hercules is complete.

The priestess in reply warns the hero to "spare his eyes," announcing
that the shrine of Bona Dea may not be visited by men with impunity
and citing by way of evidence the fate of Teiresias who, similarly thirsty
and in search of water, happened to see Athena bathing (53–60). We
have already observed that several points of form and manner in this
elegy seem to resemble the spirit of the Callimachean hymns. Here is a
specific reference to that relationship, for the legend of the blinding of
Teiresias by Athena forms the major theme of Callimachus' fifth hymn,
The Bath of Pallas. In fact the phrasing of the priestess' warning has a
close resemblance to a distich from the speech of Athena in the Calli-
machean text.[34] The word order in Propertius (57) traces in miniature
the sequence of the legend as it evolves in the hymn of Callimachus
(70–130) — *magno Tiresias aspexit Pallada vates*: Teiresias saw Athena
and became a (blind) seer. The selection of the Teiresias story to illus-
trate the situation of Hercules before an inviolate sanctuary would seem
to be the natural choice for a Roman Callimachus; but there is an ad-
ditional relevance in the allusion, since it is drawn from a unique
specimen of Callimachean narrative elegy, the one hymn in elegiac
distichs.[35] With the. citation Propertius unmistakably registers his
allegiance to his master and intimates the generic precedent for his own
hymn-like narrative.

As the poem draws to a close, Hercules invades the shrine, gratifies
his thirst, and pronounces the aition of the ritual of his cult at the Ara
Maxima (61–70). The emphatic repetition of *Maxima . . . Ara . . . ara*

[33] In Virgil's narrative, the hero is introduced as *superbus Alcides* (Aen. 8.202–
203).

[34] Editors of Propertius since the time of Passerat have supported the reading
magno in v. 57 with a reference to Callim. *Hy.* 5.101–102.

[35] Propertius wrote a conventional hymn, 3.17, in evident display of the mani-
fold properties of elegy. On elegiac hymns, cf. H. Kleinknecht, *Hermes* 74
(1939) 350 n. 3. But 4.9, though exploiting traditional hymnic formulae, is no
more a simple, straightforward hymn than are the hymns of Callimachus.

. . . *maxima* echoes the solemnity of the Virgilian designation of the altar: *hanc aram luco statuit quae maxima semper | dicetur nobis et erit quae maxima semper* (*Aen.* 8.271–272). But the words in the mouth of Hercules as previously portrayed ring rather hollow, and the essential point of the aition turns not on heroic deeds but on Herculean thirst — a telling revision of the epic tradition. Still, in manner and form the closing lines reestablish the superficial tone of dignity and elevation that characterizes the opening of the poem. It is only between the borders of this solemn, hymnic frame that the tone descends to satire and burlesque.

The poem, then, far from serving to complement the traditional heroic interpretations of Hercules' mission at Rome, is a frankly neoteric production, not only in certain mannerisms of style but also in the deliberate cultivation of a "modern" view of Hercules that is evidently intended to rival his conventional aspect in epic versions. Propertius has deftly replaced the idealized portrait of the hero with a more human, perhaps all too human, likeness.[36] We have seen that his hymn to Hercules owes much of its form and spirit to the artistic temper of Callimachus. Certainly the genial scepticism and playful irony with which the poet subverts any pretensions to sentiment or pathos in his narrative is worthy of his Hellenistic master.[37] Moreover, if political considerations motivated this poem to any significant degree — and such a possibility ought not to be dismissed entirely — Propertius' interpretation of the Hercules myth is nevertheless far from being a truly serious panegyric on official cult policy. The sophisticated play of wit and humor underlying his narrative seems designed to turn an august legend into a diverting tale, and we may suppose that Augustus, if he should be the intended recipient, would appreciate the difference.

3. ACTIAN APOLLO

There is perhaps no better example than the sixth elegy of Book 4, the poem celebrating the victory of Octavian at the battle of Actium, to illustrate the manner in which Propertius employs Callimachean precedent in his own poetry. We have observed that Propertius adopted for his hymn to Hercules the playful perspective of certain of Callimachus' hymns. In the Actium elegy he seems to turn once more for

[36] A detail in Propertius' technique of presenting Hercules in somewhat more human terms is the emphasis that he places on the hero's weariness: *fessus et ipse* (4); *defessis viris* (34); *haec fesso vix mihi terra patet* (66).

[37] Cf. U. von Wilamowitz, *Hellenistische Dichtung* (Berlin 1924) I 183.

inspiration to a Callimachean hymn executed in a more serious vein. Scholars have been inclined to regard the central position of this elegy in the contents of Book 4 as a token of the special importance that the poet intended to assign to the piece. And, in fact, in this hymn of praise to Augustus we have Propertius' most elaborate and enthusiastic endorsement of the imperial house and mission. Internal evidence suggests that the poem belongs to the latest work in Book 4, having been composed in all probability about 16 B.C., though it is impossible to determine the precise date.[38] In the period following the initial thanksgiving for the victory at Actium and the subsequent dedication of the temple of Apollo on the Palatine (31–28 B.C.), the celebration of the *Ludi Saeculares* (17 B.C.) and the *Ludi Quinquennales* (16 B.C.) in successive years seems to have marked a high point in the official program commemorating the decisive establishment of the *Pax Augusta*. It is not unreasonable to suppose that Propertius composed his own encomium as something of a companion piece to similar efforts being produced by the Augustan poets in these years.

In keeping with the etiological interests of Book 4, Propertius has conceived his narrative on Augustus and Actium in terms of an aition explaining the foundation of the temple of the Palatine Apollo:

> Musa, Palatini referemus Apollonis aedem (11)
>
> .   .   .
>
> Actius hinc traxit Phoebus monumenta . . . (67).

But, though we may recognize elements of etiology in the poem, the artistic conception as a whole is more hymnic than etiological. For the occasion, Propertius adopts a sacerdotal pose reminiscent of Horace in earlier circumstances. Horace, however, confined his call to worship to a single stanza (*Odes.* 3.1.1–4), while Propertius presents at some length the ceremonial ritual over which he presides (4.6.1–14):

> Sacra facit vates: sint ora faventia sacris,
>   et cadat ante meos icta iuvenca focos.
> serta Philiteis certet Romana corymbis,
>   et Cyrenaeas urna ministret aquas.

---

[38] Cf. H. E. Butler and E. A. Barber, *The Elegies of Propertius* (Oxford 1933) xxvi–xxvii, 335; P. J. Enk, *Sex. Propertii Elegiarum Liber I (Monobiblos)* (Leiden 1946) I 19. E. Reisch, *WS* 9 (1887) 123–124, warns, however, that a date as early as 19 B.C. is not absolutely excluded by the internal evidence.

> costum molle date et blandi mihi turis honores,
>   terque focum circa laneus orbis eat.
> spargite me lymphis, carmenque recentibus aris
>   tibia Mygdoniis libet eburna cadis.
> ite procul fraudes, alio sint aere noxae:
>   pura novum vati laurea mollit iter.
> Musa, Palatini referemus Apollonis aedem:
>   res est, Calliope, digna favore tuo.
> Caesaris in nomen ducuntur carmina: Caesar
>   dum canitur, quaeso, Iuppiter ipse vaces.

The poet conceives himself as the priest of Apollo preparing to perform a sacred rite. The words taken literally are appropriate to a religious setting, but it is equally clear that in a figurative sense Propertius' devotion is directed to Apollo in his role as Μουσηγέτης, the divine patron of poets as well as princes. The choice of the word *vates* favors this double level of reference; for the term combines in itself the notions of priest *and* poet, and in the context of official panegyric assumes an almost technical significance for the Augustan poets. Throughout these opening lines the description of religious service seems also the affirmation of a poetic creed, and the complete equation of poetic and ritual terminology makes the language as densely metaphorical as anything in Propertius.[39]

Hence, the lustral water for the sacrifice is to be drawn from Cyrene (4), an oblique reference to Callimachus which, combined with the "clusters of Philetas" (3), underlines Propertius' admiration for the two masters of Hellenistic Greek elegy and sets the ceremony proper in a framework of poetic allusion. The ritual purification of the poet-priest (*spargite me lymphis*, 7) suggests an earlier scene of poetic consecration in the presence, as here, of his favorite muse Calliope.[40] The epithets *mollis* and *blandus* applied to the offerings of nard and incense (5) are equally at home in characterizations of elegiac verse, and a similar ambiguity prevails in Propertius' call for the flute to pour out a libation of song from Lydian jars (7–8). Flute music regularly accompanied the officiating priest at a sacrifice, but in this instance Propertius seems to be thinking also of the supposed Phrygian origin of the elegy and its performance to the tune of the flute. A final play of metaphor completes the ritual scene. The bay leaves that smooth the way for the poet-priest are ceremonially clean (*pura*, 10); in view of the symbolic content of the

---

[39] Cf. W. Eisenhut, *Hermes* 84 (1956) 122–126; G. Luck, *Die römische Liebeselegie* (Heidelberg 1961) 143–145.
[40] Cf. Prop. 3.3, the *Propertii somnium*, esp. 51–52.

preceding lines, however, the expression *pura laurea* suggests a reference to poetry written in the Callimachean fashion. The phrase *novum iter* is equally suggestive. Although the assertion of priority or novelty is a familiar topic of poets in moments of self-appraisal, the *novum vati . . . iter* that Propertius contemplates is a relevant index of the special character of the poem. Horace had celebrated the theme of Actium in lyric measures, and Virgil in hexameters; Propertius lays claim to literary uniqueness with a panegyric hymn in elegiac verse modeled on the elegant and esoteric poetry of Callimachus.[41]

As Propertius prepares to make his libation of song, he asks for the favor of his Muse, announcing that his theme is twofold: the temple of Apollo on the Palatine (11) and the glory of Augustus (13). The mention of *Apollo* and *Caesar* in almost the same breath is revealing, for a marked feature of Propertius' narrative of the battle at Actium is the close identification of the figures of the god and the man. Apollo in fact is everywhere in evidence, appearing in a blaze of light above the ship of Augustus (27ff), encouraging the Princeps with predictions of victory (37ff), making good his promise with a shower of arrows (55); *vincit Roma fide Phoebi* (57): it is evident that without slighting the person of Augustus or the honor of the Julian house Propertius has placed the major emphasis on the agency of Apollo in the events at Actium.

His poem then is as much a hymn to Apollo as a glorification of Augustus, or perhaps we should agree with the poet that it is a hymn to both at once, the glory of Augustus being prefigured in the brilliance of Apollo. Such an idea would not have been unwelcome in official circles. It is a well-attested fact that the Princeps regarded Apollo in a real sense as a patron deity and that his efforts to identify himself with the god formed a deliberate element in the administration of the state religion.[42] The official attitude is probably reflected in the prominence of Apollo as a theme for poets in this period. Horace, Tibullus, and Virgil all sing the praises of the god in poems that have a political relevance as well.

---

[41] It might seem odd that Propertius alludes to Callimachean principle at the beginning of one of his most "epic" (and theoretically non-Callimachean) efforts. Indeed, as Professor Solmsen has pointed out to me, Prop. 4.6 is considerably more grandiose and elevated in tone than its apparent model in Callimachus, the *Hymn to Apollo*. Propertius' justification for a reference to Callimachus, despite the disparity of tone between the two poems, appears to reside in the fact that he is not thinking in this instance so much of the *tenuis* dictum in the *Aitia* prologue as of the remarks on the καθαρὴ λιβάς at the end of the Apollo hymn.

[42] For the program of Octavian in identifying himself with Apollo, cf. J. Gagé, *Apollon Romain* (Paris 1955) 479–522.

For his own contribution to Apolline hymnography, Propertius could with justice draw upon the excellent precedent of the Callimachean hymns and in particular the second hymn to Apollo.[43]

There are several features of Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo* that Propertius may have found attractive for his own composition. It is in essence an epiphany hymn, and, as the opening scene unfolds, the presence of the god is felt to be imminent. The poet in the guise of a priest of Apollo directs the ritual preparations, barring from the shrine the impious and instructing the reverent to honor the god with music and dancing (1–31). Then follows the poet-priest's hymn of praise to Apollo, a diffuse narrative that catalogues (with etiological asides) various aspects of the god's powers, culminating in a description of his role in the foundation of Callimachus' native city of Cyrene and the honor paid him on that account in the Carneian festival there (32–96). A return to the immediate dramatic situation balances the opening ritual scene (97–104), and the poem ends with the poet's personal σφραγίς, a characteristic statement of literary principles (105–113).

The general resemblance in structure to the Propertian poem is noteworthy. Propertius also begins with an elaborate scene of sacred ritual, though a tone of Roman *gravitas* has evidently replaced the religious fervor of the Greek text. A narrative in praise of Apollo follows, framed in turn by a second scene of ritual observance, this time of a more personal sort. Similar too in each of the poems is the concept of the poet-priest narrator. In the Callimachean hymn there is an ambiguous interweaving of the two figures, and the distinction between the voice of the poet and that of the priest is not sharply defined. Propertius has taken advantage of the inherent double meaning in the term *vates* to suggest his performance in both roles.

The political aspect of Propertius' celebration of the victory at Actium seems to have a counterpart as well in the hymn of Callimachus. At several points in his narrative the poet refers directly to the ruling powers at Alexandria (ἐμῷ βασιλῆι, 27; ἡμετέροις βασιλεῦσιν, 68), and the reference appears to carry with it an allusion to the contemporary political scene, although there has been considerable debate over which of the Ptolemaic dynasts is intended in each case. The setting of Callimachus' first reference to his king is particularly interesting, for

[43] Over fifty years ago A. Rostagni, *Poeti alessandrini* (Turin 1916) 375–382, discussed the relationship of Prop. 4.6 and Callim. *Hy.* 2, but the full significance of his suggestions was not appreciated until recently.

7*   ·

βασιλεύς and Ἀπόλλων are emphatically juxtaposed, as if there were a special significance in the affiliation of the two figures (25–27):

> ἰὴ ἰὴ φθέγγεσθε· κακὸν μακάρεσσιν ἐρίζειν.
> ὃς μάχεται μακάρεσσιν, ἐμῷ βασιλῆι μάχοιτο·
> ὅστις ἐμῷ βασιλῆι, καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι μάχοιτο.

The parallelism here has prompted speculation that Callimachus may be discreetly acknowledging a popular sentiment that encouraged the close association of the god and the ruler. Without pressing the identification too far, it can be claimed for this interpretation that it is at least consonant with the established practices of Hellenistic monarchies. If such is the case, the role that Callimachus assigns to Apollo with regard to the destiny of Cyrene is also significant. He relates that Apollo swore an oath to "our kings" that he would present them with a walled city. And, adds the poet, Apollo always keeps his word (65–68):

> Φοῖβος καὶ βαθύγειον ἐμὴν πόλιν ἔφρασε Βάττῳ
> καὶ Λιβύην ἐσιόντι κόραξ ἡγήσατο λαῷ,
> δεξιὸς οἰκιστῆρι, καὶ ὤμοσε τείχεα δώσειν
> ἡμετέροις βασιλεῦσιν· ἀεὶ δ' εὔορκος Ἀπόλλων.

It would seem from nuances such as these, whatever their exact interpretation, that Callimachus intended his hymn to Apollo to be something of a political statement as well, an affirmation in a way of his interest in the cause of the Ptolemaic dynasty. We can sense at any rate that the glory of a Ptolemy as both king and patron for Callimachus is appropriately magnified in the figure of Apollo. This may have been Propertius' reading of the hymn also, for he appears to borrow from Callimachus the idea of the convenient ambiguity in the related figures of god and ruler, and we have seen that his Apollo has an analogous political significance. Somewhat similar too in both poems is the motif of Apollo's divine guidance.[44] Just as Callimachus emphasizes the providential role of the god in the foundation of Cyrene, so Propertius describes Apollo's pledge of victory in the critical moments before Actium — ἀεὶ δ' εὔορκος Ἀπόλλων: *vincit Roma fide Phoebi.*

In view of the possible influence of Callimachus' hymn on the conception of the Propertian poem, it is interesting to compare the narrative of Propertius with a second and more obvious source, the account of the battle of Actium in the *Aeneid*. There can be little doubt that Propertius is indebted to Virgil's narrative of these same events. Almost

[44] Cf. Rostagni (previous note) 381–382.

a decade earlier he had indicated his familiarity with the Actium motif in the *Aeneid* then in progress, and several passages elsewhere in Book 4 point to his special interest in the eighth book of Virgil's epic.[45] As is frequently the case, however, with passages closely related, the differences are more instructive than the similarities. Thus both poets relate the sudden appearance of Apollo with his bow poised for action (*Aen.* 8.704f; Prop. 4.6.27ff), but in Propertius' account he comes from Delos, a vagrant island formerly, now stationary under his protection. The story of Apollo's stabilization of Delos is a canonic motif in Apolline lore, as are the following lines (31–36), which develop the contrast between the warrior aspect of the god and his more peaceful appearance. The extent of Propertius' concentration on the figure of Apollo is impressive in comparison with Virgil's treatment. Similarly, the description of the divine participation in the battle itself: in Virgil it is a broad struggle between Olympian gods and barbarous Eastern deities (*Aen.* 8.698ff); in Propertius the sole divinity actively engaged is Apollo.[46]

Examples such as these demonstrate how Propertius has altered the familiar Actium narrative in the *Aeneid* to suit his own purposes. While retaining Virgil's basic outline, he has significantly transformed parts of it by stressing the prominence of Apollo in the action. He celebrates the powers and attributes of the god in true hymnic fashion, thereby focusing the major emphasis of the narrative more in the direction of the Callimachean hymn. Other details point to a subtle difference in tone as well. The scene of the jubilant sea deities, for example (61–62), with its Triton fanfare and circle of applauding Nereids, is a touch of Hellenistic rococo more in the manner of Moschus than of Virgil.[47]

The Actium narrative in the *Aeneid* concludes with a picture of public triumph and thanksgiving at Rome. Augustus, seated on the steps of the temple of Apollo, reviews the parade of conquered nations and peoples (*Aen.* 8.714–728) — *laetitia ludisque viae plausuque fremebant.* In Propertius the victory celebration takes a more private turn. Having discharged his priestly office with due ceremony, the poet calls for wine, roses, and congenial company, in whose midst he contemplates a night of toasts to the military successes of the Princeps (69–86). The shift in mood from the solemnity with which the poem began is striking,

[45] Cf. Prop. 2.34.61–64 (written probably c. 26–25 B.C.).
[46] Cf. the similar suppression of all reference to the activity of Agrippa at Actium (*Aen.* 8.682ff), which allows Propertius to develop more fully the Apollo-Augustus comparison.
[47] Moschus *Europa* 115–124, the sea cortege accompanying Zeus and Europa.

and critics have detected a characteristic trait of Propertian imagination
in the manner in which the lustral water of the opening verses has given
way to a cup of wine at the end.[48] But it is equally important to see how
this scene of convivial poetizing fits into the structure of the poem as a
whole, for it is related to the preceding narrative in several ways.

The description of the poets' symposium contributes significantly
to the hymnic content of the poem by highlighting the "peaceful" aspect
of Apollo, who has been seen up to now only in his warlike posture.
His competency with the lyre as well as the bow, however, was a
thematic motif earlier in the poem, already underlying the allusions to
poetry in the opening scene, then expressed directly (31ff):

> non ille attulerat crines in colla solutos
>   aut testudineae carmen inerme lyrae.

Following the specific introduction *citharam iam poscit Apollo* (69), the
role of the god in music and poetry is given an appropriate dimension in
the poem. The celebration of Apollo *citharoedus* is also particularly rele-
vant to Propertius' theme of the god's Palatine temple, since an out-
standing ornament of that shrine was Scopas' statue of Apollo with a
lyre and the flowing robes of a *citharoedus*.[49]

But, in addition to complementing the martial activities of Apollo,
the festivity of the closing scene happily balances the sober atmos-
phere of the introductory verses. In fact, Propertius has arranged his
narrative somewhat in the manner of a dramatic sequence of scenes that
follow the progress of the celebration from morning until evening:
thus the initial ceremony of the poet-priest, his sacrifice — in this case
the hymn of victory to Apollo and Augustus — then the adjournment to
more pleasant surroundings for the festive banquet. Tibullus uses a
similar technique in his description of the Ambarvalia ceremony (2.1),
and the scheme was evidently a familiar one for poems such as this
purporting to describe the performance of a religious ceremony.

Recognition of this kind of formal pattern in the Propertian poem
adds still further relevance to the concluding scene, for a common
element in these ceremonial pieces is the transition from the sphere of
public ritual and thanksgiving to the scene of the poet's private cele-
bration. Though it has gone unnoticed in the standard commentaries,
the shift in mood between the public and private situation in this poem

---

[48] Cf., for example, Luck (above, n. 39) 145.
[49] On the statue of Apollo *citharoedus* in the Palatine temple, see Gagé
(above, n. 42) 532–542.

appears to follow a favorite convention of the hymnic-panegyric genre. We may compare Horace, *Odes* 3.14 *Herculis ritu modo dictus, o plebs*, celebrating the triumphant return of Augustus from Spain in 24 B.C., for the customary transition from official ceremony to informal conviviality, though critics have objected to Horace's cavalier treatment of the technique in this ode.[50] And a later poem in praise of Augustus, *Odes* 4.5 *Divis orte bonis, optime Romulae*, proceeds in a similar way from the intonation of a solemn prayer to the expression of congratulatory toasts in a festive, domestic setting.[51] One of Propertius' own poems, 3.4 *Arma deus Caesar dites meditatur ad Indos*, provides another example of the same phenomenon. The elegy begins in broad panegyric prophesying the success of Augustus' contemplated expedition against the Parthians. The poet sings the praises of Rome's military might in a grand style; however, when he anticipates how he will watch the return of the victorious forces *inque sinu carae nixus . . . puellae* (15), his official stance begins to slip perceptibly into a more elegiac pose, and in fact the poem evolves as a characteristic *recusatio* disclaiming the glory of military service for more modest ambitions — *me sat erit Sacra plaudere posse Via* (22).

Returning now to the poem on Actium and the Palatine Apollo we can better appreciate how adroitly Propertius has effected the transition from the public to the private sphere by utilizing the polarity of Apolline attributes already inherent in the hymnic tradition. The impromptu poetic activity pictured in the final scene seems to follow naturally from a reference to Apollo's lyric talents, and the poets' chorus of imperial praise is made to serve as an appropriate refrain to Propertius' more elaborate hymn. Additionally, there may be in the song motif (*canat*, 78; *carmine*, 86; etc.) a redefinition of the role of the *vates* in which Propertius appeared at the outset of the poem. The *vates* was traditionally identified with arcane ritual and the ancient religious orders of Arval brethren and Salian priests; but as the composer of *vetera carmina* and *elogia* for various occasions, he apparently performed a more general social function as well.[52] This aspect of the *vates* fits Propertius in his role at the end of the poem as the genial host of the Muse and her poet-friends, who dine, we may imagine, *morem in Salium* and celebrate the glory of Augustus and Rome in the time-honored fashion.

[50] E.g. Fraenkel (above, n. 19) 291; S. Commager, *The Odes of Horace* (New Haven 1962) 227.

[51] Cf. the resemblance in theme between Horace's and Propertius' closing words.

[52] Cf. E. Bickel, *RhM* 94 (1951) 283–302.

This closing scene with its picture of festive gaiety and intoxication contrasts sharply with the austere statement of literary principles that forms the conclusion of Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo* (105–113). The difference emphasizes once more how inexact in points of detail is the correspondence between the two poems. Yet, if we admit that for the general shape and artistic conception of his poem Propertius appears likely to have found a pattern in the Callimachean hymn, it seems equally plausible that he intended to reproduce in some manner the famous σφραγίς of Callimachus — not at the conclusion of his poem, however, but at the beginning. In defense of his own style of poetry against rival aesthetic claims, Callimachus puts into the mouth of Apollo a metaphorical argument based on the comparison of kinds of water. A pure and limpid draught from a holy spring, he maintains, is more highly prized than the turbid, refuse-laden waters of the Euphrates.[53] In view of the elaborate water imagery of this passage from the Callimachean hymn, Propertius' reference to *Cyrenaeas aquas* (4) may have a special point beyond the purely conventional identification of water and poetry.[54] And, in a larger sense too, this ritual introduction so heavily overlaid with allusions to poetry corresponds to Callimachus' programmatic section in the *Hymn to Apollo*. Though the immediate context is a religious one, Propertius in these verses is talking as much about his craft of poetry as about the formulae of sacred ritual, and his words can be read as a private statement of poetic principles as well as a public utterance of ceremonial procedure.

It remains to suggest briefly a final effect of the Callimachean hymn to Apollo on the poem of Propertius. Ten years earlier, probably not long after the initial success of the *Monobiblos* and his introduction to the circle of Maecenas, Propertius was prompted, or so he confesses, to tune his lyre in a new key and sing of the military exploits of Augustus. The record of this temptation is the elegant *recusatio* 2.10, *Sed tempus lustrare aliis Helicona choreis*. After some preliminary rationalization the poet warms to his theme and rounds off his overtures to Augustus with a promise which in retrospect seems curiously prophetic (19–20):

> haec ego castra sequar; vates tua castra canendo
> magnus ero: servent hunc mihi fata diem!

True to the form of his poem, however, he quickly reconsiders, finding the disparity between *res* and *vires* too great; like a celebrant unable to

---

[53] Callim. *Hy.* 2.108–112.
[54] Cf. Camps (above, n. 4) 105 *ad loc.*

wreathe properly a lofty statue, he has only a pauper's cheap incense with which to hallow the imperial theme (21–24).

We see in the Actium elegy how far Propertius has come from these modest disclaimers: a real and present *vates* now, it is no *vilia tura* that he offers. Current taste is unsympathetic to "official" poetry such as this, and the poem has been maligned frequently by critics.[55] It is admittedly inferior to some of the more brilliant efforts in Book 4, but judgments of the artistic success or failure of the elegy do not seriously affect the arguments for its Callimachean inspiration. We do not know what pressures, if any, may have been exerted on Propertius for an official piece of eulogy. If he was under some obligation, he has discharged it with considerable poise and tact in view of the dangers inherent in the panegyric genre. There is in the poem a tone of admiration and respect with no hint of servile adulation, and the topic of the divinity immanent in the person of Augustus is discreetly handled through the parallel with Apollo. The balance of sentiment that distinguishes the poem probably reflects Propertius' own maturing views on the meaning of the *Pax Augusta*, but it may also be a response to the equilibrium that informs the Callimachean hymn. There too the poet's expression of personal enthusiasm is tempered by the formal design of the poem, and any inclination to equate god and ruler is indulged in an unobtrusive manner. In the hands of both poets, official panegyric has become the vehicle for a far more objective tribute.

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

---

[55] Cf., for example, Com   ager, *Phoenix* 12 (1958) 53; Sullivan (above, n. 13) 19.

PLINY THE PROCURATOR

Ronald Syme

Introduction

THE written sources for the history of the Roman Empire have little to tell about the interrelation between the provinces of the West and the central government. The clear case is Spain. From the subjugation of the North-West by Caesar Augustus to the proclamation of Sulpicius Galba nearly a century elapsed. In that space of time, the peninsula all but lapses from record. There is not much to show save sporadic notices in the *Annales* of Tacitus. Then, with Galba, Spain makes a sudden impact.

It was the result of accidents, a whole concatenation. Galba belonged to the ancient patriciate of Rome; and he had acquired some military renown. Birth or ability, either quality by itself was enough to incur the distrust of the Caesars. Yet Nero (or his counsellors) saw fit to send this man out to be governor of Tarraconensis in the year 60.

When Julius Vindex, the governor of Gallia Lugdunensis, raised rebellion in the spring of 68 (one more accident, it may be surmised, not a conspiracy), Galba could not resist the temptation. He lent his name and fame to the insurrection. The defeat of Vindex should have been fatal, and Galba retired to Clunia in the back country. But Nero collapsed, and so by paradox the power went to old Galba, for a brief tenure.

Galba was an episode. Beneath the surface are the long trends of social history, to be revealed and made vivid through the emergence of men and families. In the first epoch of the Empire, four regions stand out, prosperous and dynamic, viz. Transpadane Italy, Narbonensis, Tarraconensis (the coast at least), and Baetica. Men of energy and ambition made their mark at Rome by letters and oratory — and in the service of the Caesars. Baetica furnishes the prime (and contrasting) documents: Seneca the *princeps eruditorum*, the tutor and minister of an emperor, and the consular Trajan, coming to the power through a veiled *coup d'état*.

There is another source of information, but subsidiary. Senators and knights went out to hold official positions in the Spanish provinces. The present enquiry, built up around the figure of Pliny, who was procurator in Tarraconensis, will revert to Galba before the end (but in a different aspect) and suitably terminate on the Spanish argument and the dynasty of the Antonines.

II. Education and Travel

The Caesars set a high premium on polite letters and the social graces. The commander of an army may turn out to be an orator or a writer. Thus Pomponius Secundus, legate of Germania Superior under Claudius: he achieved lasting glory by his tragedies, surpassing the credit of his *ornamenta triumphalia*, as Tacitus is careful to point out.[1] And no student of the upper order in its tastes and pastimes will neglect a coeval of Tacitus, namely Licinius Sura, the friend of Trajan, known for oratorical talent well before he emerged to hold the second place beside the ruler of the world.[2] Sura was also interested in marvels of nature.[3]

More diligent perhaps and exacting than senators and consuls were the knights in the imperial service; and the financial duties of a procurator might stimulate precision and the spirit of enquiry. When his friend Lucilius was made procurator of Sicily, Seneca expected that he would promote scientific investigations.[4] One man speaks for a whole class: Pliny the knight from Comum, whose fanatical zeal compiled the vast encyclopedia in thirty-seven books — *opus diffusum eruditum, nec minus varium quam ipsa natura*.[5] The *Naturalis Historia* displays wide (and often hasty) reading, much of it the excerpting of secondary authorities. No book, Pliny used to say, was so bad that it could not somewhere be of use. At the same time, personal informants must be allowed for, and the man's own experience and interests: a landowner in Transpadane Italy (and probably also in Campania), who in his career as equestrian officer and procurator had come to know well the lands of the Roman West. Much that he reports about the economy of Gaul and Spain may derive not from books but from life.

---

[1] Tacitus *Ann.* 12.28.2: *triumphalis honos, modica pars famae eius apud posteros, in quis carminum gloria praecellit.*
[2] Martial 1.49.40; 7.47.1f.
[3] As Pliny's nephew attests (*Epp.* 4.30; 7.27).
[4] Seneca *Epp.* 79.1ff.
[5] Thus described by the nephew (*Epp.* 3.5.6).

It should be worth the effort to track down some of those particulars. Not all writers leave the trace of their occupations. Julius Frontinus composed books on the military art. Old stuff, for the most part. The reader would not guess that Frontinus had been legate of Britain and had conquered the recalcitrant people of the Silures in South Wales. Something, however, can be divined about Tacitus. Not only an interest in Gauls and Germans, but pieces of precise or novel information. Further, his proconsulate of Asia influences the choice of material in the *Annales*; and, by negative criterion, there is no sign that he knew Syria or the Danubian provinces.

Another senator offers, the great Licinius Mucianus (*cos. III* 74), who consigned to writing many curious things he had seen, especially in the eastern lands. He is an important source of Pliny, providing for a standard collection no fewer than thirty-two *fragmenta*.[6] Given his interests or the context, more can be detected where he happens not to be cited by name.[7]

One casual notice, Mucianus on the sources of the Euphrates (5.3), indicates that he had been a legionary legate in Armenia under Domitius Corbulo, a fact not in the *Annales* but no doubt held back by the historian for a more potent introduction of this character later on. In two other items Pliny designates Mucianus as governor of Lycia. He held a picnic with a dozen companions under the shade of a vast plane tree; and in a temple he had read a letter of Sarpedon, written when that leader of the Lycians was fighting in the Trojan War (12.9; 13.88). Inscriptions show Licinius Mucianus as legate governing the province Lycia–Pamphylia.[8]

Mucianus was eager for *curiosa* and for *mirabilia* about men and animals, fishes and fountains, buildings and works of art. He had seen at Argos the woman Arescusa, who after marriage changed her sex, grew a beard, and took a wife; and on Samothrace, Zocles, who at the age of one hundred and four grew a fresh set of teeth (7.36; 11.167). He was able to report *de visu* on the sagacious behaviour of elephants, goats, and monkeys (8.6, 201, 215). Mucianus gave a full description of a mobile *concha* and its friendly parasite in the Propontis (9.94). To him may therefore be ascribed the observations about the habits of fishes there. Some remain for the summer, and do not go into the Black Sea — *item soleae, cum rhombi intrent* — and the *lolligo* is found in the Propontis,

---

[6] H. Peter, *HRR* II (1906) 101ff.

[7] F. Münzer, *Beitrage zur Quellenkritik der Naturgeschichte des Plinius* (1897) 392ff.

[8] *ILS* 8816 (Oenoanda); *AE* 1915, 48 (Attaleia).

but not the *saepia* (9.52). On inspection, one is struck by the total of references to Cyzicus — a dozen, apart from the formal or geographical.[9] More, for example, than for Pergamum.

These features impel to a digression. Mucianus in his earlier existence, having incurred the anger of Claudius Caesar, had to go away and live as a kind of exile. As Tacitus states, *in secretum Asiae sepositus* (*Hist.* 1.10.1). Where was the place of his retreat? Clearly not the back country, but some city of art and elegance.

Cyzicus offered, which moreover may have regained from Caligula or Claudius the status of *civitas libera* it had forfeited under Tiberius.[10] Cyzicus had long since exerted a seductive appeal on Romans enamoured of ease and refinement. Volcacius Tullus, the friend of the poet Propertius, spent many years there. He had been legate of his uncle the proconsul. There is no sign that he went back to Rome to resume the career of honours.[11]

There was high society at Cyzicus. It harboured a princess and her family, Antonia Tryphaena, that munificent lady, daughter of Polemo the King of Pontus (*PIR*[2], A 900). Hence suitable residence for a snob and a voluptuary, who previously at Rome *insignes amicitias iuvenis coluerat.* Discriminating between oysters, Mucianus gave the palm to the *Cyzicena*, as first among the eight kinds in repute (32.62). It is not an idle fancy that the *secretum Asiae* which he elected for his retreat was the Propontis, teeming with oyster beds: a fragment of the poet Catullus bears witness to the Hellespont, *ceteris ostreosior oris.*[12] Other commodities were not out of reach. As was fitting in a man who visited Samothrace and the coast opposite, *praesens in eo tractu* (and knew his Homer), Mucianus paid his tribute to the potent wine of Maronea, dark and odorous and enriched·by age (14.54).

Sundry propensities (and credulities) in Mucianus come close to Pliny. Since they reveal travel as well, with official employments and much autopsy, it is an encouragement to inspect and exploit the *Naturalis Historia.*

III. Pliny's Military Service

The basic study was produced by Münzer, nearly seventy years ago, in a paper that took as its point of departure the first of his two historical

---

[9] Pliny *NH* 5.151; 13.5; 17.244; 31.19; 32.62; 35.26, 147, 167; 36.98, 99, 100.

[10] Tacitus *Ann.* 4.36.2.

[11] Propertius 1.6.9, cf. 34; 3.22.1ff; cf. G. W. Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World* (1965) 21 and 79.

[12] Catullus, frag. 1 Mynors.

works, the *Bella Germaniae*, in twenty books.[13] Pliny began to compose it during military service on the Rhine: Drusus, the father of Germanicus, incited him, in a vision of the night. That item, like others of great value about a man's habits and writings, comes from the famous letter of Pliny's nephew (*Epp.* 3.5) — which, however, is chary of precise information about the official posts. Hence the recourse to indications in the *NH*. Münzer made a diligent search, and his reconstruction of Pliny's career has not suffered much impairment in the sequel.[14]

His first and signal merit was to demolish a theory that Mommsen had sponsored. Mommsen adduced the "]inius Secun[dus" to whom the city of Aradus in Phoenicia paid honour.[15] At this late date nothing would need to be said, but for recent attempts to disallow the demonstration of Münzer.[16]

The man at Aradus was prefect of *Cohors I Thracum* and of another auxiliary regiment (type and name missing), adjutant to Ti. Julius Alexander at the siege of Jerusalem (i.e., in 70), procurator of Syria and commander of the *legio XXII* in Egypt. Arguments both positive and negative confute the identification with Pliny. The *NH* betrays no hint that its author had seen Syria or Egypt. By contrast, plenty about the Rhine frontier and the provinces of the West.

First, therefore, the equestrian military service. All of it with the armies of the Rhine. Münzer established three periods of employment.[17] In summary, as follows:

First, Germania Inferior. Pliny had been in the territory of the Ubii (17.47) and near the mouth of the Rhine (12.98). More important, east of the river, *sunt vero et in septentrione visae nobis Chaucorum, qui maiores minoresque appellantur* (16.2). He goes on to describe the miserable condition of those tribes; and he adds a vivid detail about the huge

---

[13] F. Münzer, *Bonner Jahrbücher* 104 (1899) 67ff. Not used by Peter in *HRR* II (1906).

[14] Cf. R. Syme, *Tacitus* (1958; hereafter cited as *Tacitus*) 60f, 127, 291ff; H.-G. Pflaum, *Les carrières procuratoriennes sous le Haut-Empire romain* (1960) 105ff. There is more criticism and dissent in K. Ziegler, *RE* XXI (1951) 273ff, and A. N. Sherwin-White, *The Letters of Pliny: A Historical and Social Commentary* (1966) 219ff.

[15] *OGIS* 586 = *IGR* III 1015. Dessau did not care to admit the document to *ILS*.

[16] J. Beaujeu in the introduction to the Budé edition, I (1950) 9ff; Ziegler, (above, n. 14) 277ff; R. Hanslik, *Anzeiger für Altertumskunde* 8 (1955) 193.

[17] Münzer (above, n. 13) 73ff. For the Rhenish and German items see further E. Norden, *Die germanische Urgeschichte in Tacitus Germania* (1920, 3rd ed. 1923) 207ff. Only the more significant will be registered in this place.

willow trees not far from their land, growing on the banks of two lakes and causing a nuisance to Roman ships of war (16.5). The occasion of Pliny's autopsy admits no doubt. It was the campaign of Domitius Corbulo against the Chauci in 47, which included naval operations (*Ann.* 11.18.1–11.20.1).

Second, Germania Superior. Pliny mentions the hot springs at Aquae Mattiacae (Wiesbaden) across the Rhine from Moguntiacum (31.20); and he tells about fishes, *quod et circa Danuvii exortum audivi* (31.25). The date and the governor emerge without effort. P. Pomponius Secundus (*suff.* 44) operated against the Chatti in 50 (*Ann.* 12.27f), and he is attested for 51 (*CIL* XIII 11515: Vindonissa). They were old friends. Pliny witnessed the sumptuous banquet, with vintage wines, which Pomponius offered to Caligula (14.56); and he was to write the biography of his benefactor.[18] He left with Pomponius, it may be supposed, in 51 or 52. In the latter year he was present at the pageant which inaugurated the draining of the Lacus Fucinus, and he saw Agrippina preside, in a golden cloak (33.63, cf. *Ann.* 12.56.3).

Third, Germania Inferior. Pliny in the *NH* (*praef.* 3) alludes to his *contubernium* with the elder son of Vespasian. Now Titus, according to Suetonius, was *tribunus militum et in Germania et in Britannia* (*Divus Titus* 4.1). His age is a clue. He was born on December 30 of the year 39. Therefore, if he took up service on the Rhine in the spring of 56, he would be just sixteen years of age. Not impossible, but 57 or 58 is more likely. In which of the two armies, however, did young Titus coincide with Pliny?

Germania Inferior seems the answer.[19] Tacitus under the year 58 records transactions concerning two governors in succession, Pompeius Paullinus and Duvius·Avitus (*Ann.* 13.54ff). The former (*suff.* c. 53) is attested in 56.[20] The latter, consul suffect in the last pair of 56, cannot have arrived before the spring of 57. Now Pliny refers to the opulent silver plate that Paullinus had with him in camp — *scimus* (33.143). That should be good enough. As for Duvius Avitus, Pliny

---

[18] *Epp.* 3.5.3.

[19] Titus went on to be tribune in Britain. That may stand in some relationship to the governors Q. Veranius and Suetonius Paulinus: for the question of dating, cf. *Tacitus*, 765f. Pliny's stage in Germania Inferior is dismissed by Ziegler (280; see above, n. 14), assigning the *contubernium* with Titus to the year 70 in Judeae; and Sherwin-White says "he may have been with the young Titus in Upper Germany" (221; see above, n. 14). And Hanslik duly rejected Pliny's service in Germania Inferior in 57 (193; above, n. 16).

[20] *Not. Scav.* 1887, 221 (a bronze object found on the battlefield at Cremona, like *ILS* 2283).

mentions him once, not however in relation to his governorship of
Germania Inferior (34.47). Nonetheless, since Pliny shared the com-
pany of Titus, he probably served under Duvius Avitus as well. There is
a lower limit. Pliny reports the date and particulars of the solar eclipse
as seen in Campania on April 30, 59 (2.180).

Three officer posts can therefore be established, falling within the
limits of 46 and 58, the second and third separated by an interval of
about four years. It is not easy to go further and specify, using the
standard *tres militiae*, viz. *praefectus cohortus, tribunus militum, praefectus
alae*. That pattern was only now coming to be normal.[21] All sorts of
variants in type and sequence are on show in the early imperial age.
And some anomalies recur. There is a further complication. According
to Suetonius, Claudius Caesar ordained a different sequence for the
three posts (*Divus Claudius* 25.1). He reversed the order of the last
two, putting *tribunus militum* after *praefectus alae*. Suetonius, himself a
knight, albeit one who had declined a tribunate, subjoins no comment
about the Emperor's motive. It is not far to seek, being historical and
antiquarian: the tribunate ought to be the highest, for it had been a
magistracy in origin. Good sense spoke against Claudius, and was
expressed in the later norm. Unlike the *tribunus* (one of five in a legion)
the *praefectus alae* commands an independent tactical unit. It is not
likely that Claudius had his way for long.[22]

Some suppose that Pliny made his début in Germania Inferior c. 47
with the command of an *ala*.[23] That post is the least likely of all. Better
tribunus militum or *praefectus cohortis*. Pliny's first piece of writing, so
the nephew reports, dealt with the use of the javelin for cavalry (*Epp.*
3.5.3). That does not imply that his first command was over cavalry.
It accords with his next post, under Pomponius Secundus, a governor
not likely to discourage literary activity in an officer's life. If that be so,
when this expert came back to the frontier for a third time after an
interval, it is appropriate that he should again have a cavalry regiment.[24]

A casual clue offers, but not decisive. The camp at Vetera has yielded
a *phalera*, with *Plinio praefec(to)* (*CIL* XIII 10026[22]). So far so good.
But the commander of a foot regiment no less than of cavalry has a
horse. The object might belong to Pliny's first sojourn in Germania

[21] E. Birley, *Roman Britain and the Roman Army* (1953) 138f.
[22] The Claudian arrangement occurs in *ILS* 2681 and (probably) *CIL* V
4058. Add now *AE* 1966, 124 (Verona).
[23] Münzer (above, n. 13) 80; Ziegler (above, n. 14) 273f; Sherwin-White
(above, n. 14) 221.
[24] For a renewed command of an *ala*, cf. *ILS* 2711.

Inferior — if he had then been *praefectus cohortis*, not (as is preferable) *tribunus militum*. A slight uncertainty may therefore subsist.[25] However, three equestrian posts are established, along with the region and the approximate dates. Brief comment on a wider theme is now expedient.

Army service meant different things to different people — and there was no uniform age for entry.[26] Some were content with the military tribunate only, going abroad from curiosity and returning to civilian life with enhanced prestige. That was a practice of sundry municipal worthies.[27] For others, the military existence had its own appeal, with more posts than one, and intermission as might be dictated by the care of an estate, the love of home, or the yearning for polite society.

Personal factors dominate all through — choice or luck or patronage. Bureaucracy and administration has the lesser part. The governors of the armed provinces had a notable say in equestrian appointments.

There is another aspect. These posts might lead to civil employment, sometimes conveying a man to high elevations. The notion appeals to scholars who delight in system and concentrate on success. But the *militia equestris* has its own meaning, apart from any prospects for individuals. Many lacked incentive to go further, or the patronage. The high posts at Rome tended to be captured by court favourites and their friends.

IV. Pliny's Procuratorships

Pliny was back in Italy in the spring of 59. What were now his prospects — and his desires? He may have gone on to hold some minor procuratorship, for example in Africa. He had certainly visited that province (see below). But there is no trace of any such employment at this time.

Perhaps Pliny encountered disappointment or a setback. Pomponius Secundus was no longer among the living.[28] Yet other support might avail. In the fifties Afranius Burrus the Prefect of the Guard had

---

[25] Pflaum offers no solution (109; above, n. 14). He rightly castigated Münzer's notion that the third stage was the post of *praefectus castrorum*.

[26] E. Birley (above, n. 21), 135ff.

[27] For example, Junius Columella (*ILS* 2923) and Cornelius Bocchus (*ILS* 2920f). For a single tribunate preceding the office of provincial high priest at Tarraco, cf. *CIL* II 2638; 3329; 4219. For such persons the goal was prestige, not a career in the service of the central government.

[28] The eulogy of Tacitus (*Ann.* 12.28.2) may be regarded as the anticipation of a necrological notice.

exercised a potent influence, to be detected, for example, in the con-
sulates and army commands of Pompeius Paullinus and Duvius Avitus.[29]
Burrus died in 62; and with Burrus gone, so Tacitus avers, the *potentia*
of Seneca was broken (*Ann.* 14.52.1).

Other servants of power were quickly ensnaring the control of pat-
ronage. About the year 62 belongs the first consulship of C. Vibius
Crispus, that smooth orator and deep intriguer. He came from Vercellae
in Transpadane Italy.[30] These years witnessed a more striking phenom-
enon: Verginius Rufus *consul ordinarius* in 63, of equestrian parentage.
His *patria* is Mediolanum, neighbour city to Comum. Verginius was
later the guardian of Pliny's nephew and heir (*Epp.* 2.1.8), and zealous
in promoting his career. As it happens, the *NH* carries no reference to
Verginius Rufus, and only one to Vibius Crispus (see below, VII and
VIII, under Africa and Tarraconensis).

Pliny, it appears, lapsed into retirement. That is, agriculture and the
pursuit of letters, perhaps now bringing to completion his *Bella
Germaniae*. After which, he wrote six volumes on the education and
training of the good public speaker, from the cradle to mature per-
formance — *quibus oratorem ab incunabulis instituit et perfecit*. The next
task was to classify improprieties of grammar and usage, *dubii sermonis
octo*. This product was composed *sub Nerone novissimis annis*, in a season
inimical to liberal studies of the more generous type (*Epp.* 3.5.5). In-
deed, it would be rash to be writing recent or contemporary history.

In the spring of 65 occurred the Pisonian conspiracy, including along
with senators of different grades a number of knights and officers of the
Guard. No doubt acquaintances of Pliny among them — the list is long.[31]
That transaction brought various catastrophes in its train the year
after. Clients might be endangered through illustrious patrons. In one
affair a man of Comum was involved, Calpurnius Fabatus, but luck
and his insignificance preserved him from harm.[32]

The prime and resonant action of that year was the destruction of
Thrasea Paetus. Nero's agents attacked not only a person but a group,
incriminating the doctrines of the Stoics. The *patria* of Thrasea was
Patavium in Transpadane Italy, that city which stood for material
prosperity and moral excellence. Transpadana, however, is a wide and

---

[29] As argued in *Tacitus*, 590f.
[30] Tacitus *Dial.* 8.1.
[31] Tacitus *Ann.* 15.71.
[32] *Ann.* 16.8.3. That is, L. Calpurnius Fabatus (PIR², C 263), the grandfather
of the younger Pliny's third wife.

heterogeneous zone, all the way from the Cottian to the Julian Alps; Comum and Mediolanum are not in close relation to Patavium; and Pliny's career and writings exhibit no especial ties with the latter city. Nor is it clear that detestation of despotism and sympathy with its victims would enjoin involvement or even approbation.

For good or ill, Pliny seems out of touch during the last Neronian years. At least, the *NH* discloses no anecdotes about high society to compare with the days of his youth under Caligula.[33] That is relevant to any estimate of his second historical work, namely *a fine Aufidi Bassi triginta unus*. It was written after 70 — and at a time when he was in service abroad, so it may be conjectured.

On the above indications, it is hazardous to postulate any procuratorial post under Nero. It is more dramatic, but also more credible, to have him benefit from the happy epoch inaugurated by the accession of Vespasian.

The outcome of civil war therefore brought the change in Pliny's fortunes. On the proclamation of Galba, Spain was in a ferment; and some at least of the cities in Narbonensis, for example Vienna, had already come out strongly for Julius Vindex (*Hist.* 1.65.2). Opportunity beckoned to alert partisans in both regions, some in officer positions, others emerging from retreat either wilful or constrained.[34] The able, eloquent, and unscrupulous Antonius Primus of Tolosa (*PIR²*, A 866), a senator who had been condemned for forging a will seven years previously, now regained his rank from Galba and the command of a legion. There was also Cornelius Fuscus, who in youth had discarded the *latus clavus* from distaste for the burdens or the hazards of the senatorial existence. He entered the fray in fine style — *idem pro Galba dux coloniae suae* (*Hist.* 2.86.3). The identity of that city has not failed to provoke speculation. Let it be supposed that its situation had some strategic value for Galba's abortive war against Nero. Then conjecture becomes admissible. Perhaps the colony Forum Julii in Narbonensis, on the highway from Italy to Spain, and once a great naval base.[35]

There is no sign that the sagacious Pliny was impelled to action either now or in the next year when invasion and two great battles fought near Cremona afflicted the cities of Transpadane Italy. The victory of

[33] The banquet of Pomponius Secundus (14.56); Caligula's picnic near Velitrae (12.10); Lollia Paullina seen with all her pearls (9.117).

[34] For the partisans of Galba, *Tacitus*, 592.

[35] *Tacitus*, 623; 677; 684.

the Flavian armies gave him and others their opportunity. Vespasian being far away, Licinius Mucianus had charge of affairs — and of appointments.

Pliny now embarked on a new career. He went through several pro-curatorships, ending as commander of the fleet at Misenum, to perish when the volcano erupted in August of the year 79.

It will be expedient to examine that procuratorial career with care and in detail. Drawing upon indications in the *NH*, Münzer argued that from 70 to 76 Pliny was procurator in succession of Narbonensis, Africa, Tarraconensis, Belgica.[36] Many scholars have concurred. Hesitations might obtrude. The period of time available seems to cramp those four posts unduly.[37] And only one of them, it is claimed, stands on indubitable attestation. That is, on the witness of the nephew (*Epp.* 3.5.17). It is Tarraconensis — which, as will emerge in the sequel, falls precisely in 73 or 74, in fact confirming the prescience of Münzer. Africa can also be established. For the rest, Narbonensis at the outset and Belgica at the end are not secure. The evidence for those two posts must therefore be scrutinised.

V. NARBONENSIS

To date that post, an item offered, viz. a new kind of vine appearing at Alba Helviorum in the province, *septem his annis* (14.43). Furthermore, several pieces of personal knowledge about the Vocontii, territory and citizens. Pliny had seen a meteoric stone there, *vidi* (2.150); and he was aware that a village, Vertamacori, had its homonym in his own country, at Novaria (3.124). Of one Vocontian *eques*, called Julius Viator, he knew (*scimus*), that from youth he had never consumed any kind of liquid (7.78); of another, not named, that he was addicted to the magical practices of the Druids and was put to death for that reason by Claudius Caesar.[38]

So far Münzer. A number of odd particulars may be added, as follows:

1) Among the Vocontii a special type of dessert wine, *genus passi dulce* (14.83).
2) Three named brands of wine at Vienna, and in general the *vina picata* there (14.18, 57).
3) The wind called *circius* stops blowing before it reaches Vienna (2.121).
4) The fountain Orga at Nemausus (18.190).

[36] Münzer (above, n. 13) 103ff. Accepted by Pflaum (above, n. 14) 109f.
[37] *Tacitus*, 61; Sherwin-White (above, n. 14) 221.
[38] The incident occurred at Rome (29.54).

5) The lagoon Laterna in the territory of Nemausus. Pliny furnishes a
   long, vivid, and highly stylised account of dolphins that cooperate with
   human beings in the trapping of fish (9.29ff).[39]
6) A kind of wool prepared *circa Piscinas provinciae Narbonensis* (8.191).[40]
7) The citizens of Forum Julii have a special name for the small fishes
   they use for pickle, *lupi* (31.95).
8) The little bird called *taurus* in the territory of Arelate: it bellows like
   an ox (10.116).
9) The Avantici and the Bodiontici (with their town Dinia), assigned
   by Galba to the province of Narbonensis (3.37). The sole entry to
   mention that emperor.

By themselves, most of the above items tell nothing. For example,
to know about the vintages of Vienna, a viticultor or a fancier did not
have to go there, or even, for that matter, consult the handbooks of the
Narbonensian experts Julius Atticus (*PIR²*, J 183) and Julius Graecinus
(J 344), the parent of Agricola.

Two factors come into the reckoning. First, Narbonensian friends he
had met at Rome or in his employments abroad. Thus two legates of
Germania Inferior, viz. Pompeius Paullinus of Arelate, and Duvius
Avitus from Vasio Vocontiorum.[41] Again, a certain Cornelius Tacitus,
procurator of Belgica c. 57 (on whom see below); and the young senator
Julius Agricola from Forum Julii shared with Pliny the last Neronian
years at the capital. Also from Forum Julii was the procurator of Nar-
bonensis during the troubles of the year 69, namely Valerius Paullinus,
strenuus militiae et Vespasiano ante fortunam amicus (*Hist.* 3.43.1).
His son, consul suffect in 107, was on terms of close friendship with
Pliny's nephew (*Epp.* 2.2, etc.). As will be seen, certain attachments with
Tarraconensis were likewise inherited. Finally, a word should here go
to the Prefect of the Guard, Afranius Burrus (though he died in 62),
because of his influence on promotions in the fifties, from consulates
(i.e., that of Duvius Avitus) down to equestrian posts. Vasio of the
Vocontii is his *patria* (*ILS* 1321).

Second, a sojourn with *hospites* in the province might with propriety
be invoked. Perhaps more than one visit in transit, coming or going, for

---

[39] Pliny had been telling the story of the dolphin at Hippo Diarrhytus (9.26),
and he concluded with an item from Mucianus (9.33).

[40] For Piscinae, or Piscenae, called by Pliny an *oppidum latinum* (3.37), cf.
P. Goessler, *RE* XX 1775.

[41] Their origin is certified. Pliny has *Pompeium Paulinum Arelatensis equitis
Romani filium paternaque gente pellitum* (33.143). For Duvius Avitus, *ILS* 979;
Inscr. lat. de Gaule 206 (Vasio).

Pliny served with the armies of the Rhine and was later procurator in Tarraconensis c. 73. The case for Narbonensis therefore remains inconclusive.

VI. GALLIA BELGICA

A pair of items naturally attracted attention long since (cf. *PIR*[1], P 378). Pliny mentions a second sowing in the month of March after crops had perished in a hard winter — *in Treverico agro tertio ante hunc annum* (18.183). The procurator had his seat at Treveri (the legate was at the city of the Remi). As well as autopsy, the notice appeared to furnish a date, the *Naturalis Historia* having been completed in 77. Next, Pliny discusses children of abnormal growth, ἐκτράπελοι, as the Greeks call them (there was no Latin term). He subjoins an example from his own knowledge: *ipsi non pridem vidimus eadem ferme omnia praeter pubertatem in filio Corneli Taciti equitis Romani Belgicae Galliae rationes procurantis* (7.76).

A precious notice, disclosing the parentage of the consular historian. Who has doubted? As concerns Pliny, when did he see that boy, short-lived as the context shows? In the fifties, it may be assumed, when Pliny was on the Rhine.[42] The procurator's competence (it is an important fact) embraced the zone of the two armies. Cornelius Tacitus, it has been conjectured, owed that charge to the patronage of Burrus the Guard Prefect. Further, the *patria* of the historian is to be sought somewhere in Narbonensis. Perhaps the ancient and illustrious *colonia* of Forum Julii, for so he designates the home of his wife's father (*Agr.* 4.1), perhaps Vasio.[43] As has been indicated, the fifties were a propitious season for the *boni viri et locupletes* of that province. The family and kin of the Cornelii Taciti were suitable *hospites* for the procurator from Transpadane Italy.

One must therefore look for support from casual details, variously to be estimated:

1) The Belgae prefer cherries of the Lusitanian sort (15.103). Pliny was himself an expert: of the species *duracina*, Campania grew the best, called *Pliniana* (15.103).
2) The use of reeds for huts, *sicut in Belgis* (16.158).
3) Apples called *spadonia* by Belgians (15.51).

[42] Indeed, c. 57, as Münzer assumes (110; above, n. 13). Adopted in *Tacitus*, 614; 623.
[43] *Tacitus*, 621f. The inscription at Vasio is there adduced, "Marti/et Vasioni/Tacitus" (*CIL* XII 1301 = *ILS* 4841).

4) The stone is soft *in provincia Belgica* and can be cut up by the use of saws (36.159).
5) Among the Treveri, hermaphrodite mares (11.262).
6) *Bulbi* growing spontaneously *etiam in Remorum arvis* (19.97); likewise *siligo* there (18.85).
7) Among the Morini, the geese conducted on foot all the way to Rome (10.53); the Morini use linen sails (19.8); the plane tree has spread as far as that region (12.6).

What is the value of these items? Not much, perhaps. The geese of the Morini may cheerfully be waived. Nobody had to visit the extremity of Gallia Belgica to get a sight of them. Other pieces of information might have accrued when Pliny was on military service, or in transit through Belgica.[44]

VII. Africa

Here is firm ground at last. Münzer cited five items, two of which proclaim autopsy. First, at a wedding in Africa the bride changed her sex. Pliny vouches for the person and name, *L. Consitium, civem Thysdritanum* (7.36).[45] Second, he had seen donkeys used for ploughing in Byzacium, that fertile region (17.41). Next, the accurate description of Meninx and Cercina (5.41), and of the lotos plant (13.104ff), with polemic against Cornelius Nepos; and the remarkable spring at Tacape (18.188).

Something more can be added. Pliny had seen (*vidimus*) how the desert tribe of the Psylli dealt with venomous toads, *rubetae* (25.123). Again, he describes with enthusiasm the earthen walls in Africa and Spain, *parietes formacei* made of soil packed between wooden planks — *aevis durant incorrupti imbribus ventis ignibus, omnique caemento firmiores.* And he proceeds, *spectat etiam nunc speculas Hannibalis Hispania* (35.169). Some play down or neglect the evidence of Münzer. Not a word about it in the article in Pauly-Wissowa, the author of which could find space for theses long obsolete.[46] And, to be sure, Pliny might have been to Africa on a casual tour. Others concede the procuratorship but suppose that it might have fallen in the early years of Nero.[47]

---

[44] Thus the precise item about the birthplace of Caligula (*in Treveris vico Ambitarvio*) for which Suetonius cites him (*Cal.* 8.1).

[45] The *nomen* is not otherwise on record. Better, "Considius."

[46] Ziegler, *RE* XXI 277. He expatiates on the inscription at Aradus (*OGIS* 586).

[47] Sherwin-White (above, n. 14) 221.

Sundry reasons discountenance that notion. Two passages naming proconsuls furnish clues to the date. Pliny gives a full account of the dolphin at Hippo Diarrhytus. The friendly creature suffered unwelcome attentions from the proconsul Tampius Flavianus, who deluged it with perfumes, whereupon the dolphin went away in distress and was not seen for some months (9.26).[48] This proconsulate is commonly placed in the reigns of Claudius or Nero. Against which, one should observe Pliny's phrase *intra hos annos*. Surely more definite than *proxime*, *nuper, non pridem* — or the *ante paucos annos* which is duly brought into play, referring to an event of the year 59 (2.180). The term *hi anni* suggests the most recent epoch, in contrast to the one which went before. That is to say, the new turn in history, and in the life of Pliny, consequent upon the accession of Vespasian. The parallels confirm, viz. *septem his annis* in reference to 70 (14.43) and *paucis his annis* to an event in Spain (19.35), which, as will be demonstrated below, belongs to 73 or 74. Apart from Tampius Flavianus, Pliny names only one proconsul of Africa, viz. Vibius Crispus. He is reporting the swift sail of his legate C. Flavius, two days from Africa to the port of Ostia (19.4). The consular year of neither is on record. But Tampius was clearly the older man (to have a second tenure of the *fasces* in 74, or better perhaps, 75). The consulship of Vibius Crispus might be put without discomfort c. 62. Hence the two proconsulates can be assigned to 70/71 and 72/73 respectively. (71/72 already has a tenant.) There is no impediment.[49]

VIII. Tarraconensis

This is clear — and highly remunerative. The two prime exhibits concern the senator Larcius Licinus. In the first anecdote, he is termed *viro praetorio iura reddenti in Hispania Carthagine paucis his annis*. While he was eating a truffle, his front teeth bit on a coin and were bent in consequence (19.35). Pliny is positive, *scimus*. In the second, where he is *legatus pro praetore*, he visits the *fontes Tamarici* in Cantabria. The spring refused to flow, a dire omen, and Licinus duly died seven days later. The transaction had occurred *proxime* (31.24).

Light comes from the famous letter of the nephew. When Pliny was procurator in Spain, Larcius Licinus, coveting his voluminous notebooks, offered a huge sum. In vain (*Epp.* 3.5.17).

---

[48] The nephew tells the story, in a letter to Suetonius, with no reference to his uncle's work, and with discrepant details (*Epp.* 9.33).

[49] The argument was developed in *REA* 58 (1956) 236ff. Noted, but not accepted, by B. E. Thomasson, *Die Statthalter der römischen Provinzen Nordafrikas von Augustus bis Diocletianus* II (1960) 43.

The post held by Licinus need not detain or perplex. In some crisis a praetorian legate (or lower) might have transient charge of a consular province. That may in fact have happened in Tarraconensis early in 70.[50] But Licinus is clearly the *iuridicus*, a post on ample attestation.[51] By good fortune, the name of a consular legate avails to date both the *iuridicus* and the procurator. An inscription from Syria shows a certain Attius Suburanus serving as *adiutor* to the imperial legate Vibius Crispus, *in censibus accipiendis Hispaniae citerioris* (*AE* 1939, 60: Heliopolis). The conduct of the census, that gives the date: 73/74.[52] To confirm which, a neglected fact is to hand. Pliny happens to supply the census figures for each of the three *conventus* of the Northwest, in Asturia-Callaecia (3.28).[53] These, and no others anywhere.

So far the date. Münzer cited several items certifying Pliny's special knowledge about Tarraconensis. In the forefront, a pair about local aristocrats. Sextus Pomponius, described as *praetorii viri pater*, *Hispaniae citerioris princeps*, discovered by accident a remedy against gout (22.120); and another *Hispaniae princeps* (no name), also parent of a senator of praetorian rank, cured himself of a disease by wearing round his neck (except when bathing) the root of the herb *porcellaca* (purslain). *Scio*, says Pliny (20.215).

Next, in summary reference, the *linum Zoelicum* coming from the remote people of the Zoelae in Callaecia beside the Ocean (19.10);[54] and the huge silver dish (it weighed 250 pounds) made to the order of Rotundus, an agent of Claudius Caesar in Hispania Citerior (33.145). These by way of example. Münzer of set purpose refrained from going any further.[55]

---

[50] The *tabellae defixionum* found at Emporiae disclose "Titus Aurelius Fulvus legatus Augusti" (*AE* 1952, 122). Governor of the province, and, it can be argued, precisely in 70, when he was still of praetorian rank, cf. *JRS* 48 (1958) 7. The "Rufus legatus Augusti" next named may well be the *iuridicus*, not a legionary commander: Tarraconensis was stripped of its legions in 70.

[51] Thus Glitius Agricola, "legatus citerioris Hispaniae" (*ILS* 1021) and Julius Maximus, "iuridicus Hispaniae citerioris Tarraconensis" (*ILS* 1016). Also Q. Pomponius Rufus (*suff.* 95), so it can be argued: his inscription has, in descending order, "leg. Aug. pro pr. [M]oesiae Dalmat. Hisp." (*IRT* 537). He was governor of Dalmatia (as praetorian) in 94 (*CIL* XVI 38).

The notion that Larcius Licinus was governor of Tarraconensis has unfortunately been perpetuated; Münzer, 110; Ziegler, 276; Sherwin-White, 232.

[52] Cf. the consular Rutilius Gallicus in Africa (Statius *Silvae* 1.4.83ff; *ILS* 5955, etc.).

[53] Noted as relevant in *REA* 58 (1956) 238; *Tacitus*, 61.

[54] Or rather among the Astures Augustani (3.28).

[55] Münzer, 110.

Quite a lot can be added. First of all persons, with a third family of the notables. The praetorian senator P. Licinius Caecina had a father who committed suicide by taking opium, *Bavili in Hispania* — wherever that may be. Pliny says *scimus* (20.199). Now a Licinius Caecina comes into an incident narrated by Tacitus in his *Historiae* — *novus adhuc et in senatum nuper adscitus* (2.53.1). That is a valuable notice. No other source indicates that Galba had usurped the powers of a censor.

Again, the knight Pompeius Flaccus, who had served under L. Vitellius the legate of Syria. He introduced the pistachio nut into Spain (15.91). His home ought to be looked for somewhere along the littoral of Tarraconensis.[56] When Pliny means either of the other two provinces he usually says *Baetica* or *Lusitania*. *Ulterior* seldom occurs — and it tended to fade out.[57]

Further, the mother of a soldier in the Praetorian Guard, to whom in a dream was revealed a remedy against rabies. She sent it to her son — who needed it. The transaction occurred in Lacetania (25.17). Another herb useful against bites was recently discovered there. As Pliny says, *in eadem provincia cognovi in agro hospitis nuper ibi repertum dracunculum appellatum caulem* (25.18). The linen produced by the Zoelae and the census figures have already been mentioned. Likewise (in another part of the province) the *turres Hannibalis*, as in Africa (35.169). That Pliny should register Flaviobriga (3.27), a new colonial foundation of Vespasian, is not of any consequence. But, in a dry catalogue of tribes and towns, he calls Asturica an *urbs magnifica* (3.28). None of the other towns is honoured with a label of praise; and the reader notes with agreeable surprise that a beautiful lagoon, a *stagnum amoenum*, extends along the coast of Edetania (3.20).

Since Asturia, Callaecia, and Cantabria had not been subjugated before the time of Augustus, a number of details concerning the various natural products of that zone may suitably be put down to Pliny's recollection of things seen and registered.

Like so many in that age (and in the next) Pliny was preoccupied with maladies and medicines. In youth he had known the famous botanist Antonius Castor, then a centenarian of unimpaired science and vigour, and had inspected his herbal collections (25.9). He is alert to recent discoveries, such as the herb sent to the doctor Servilius Democrates

[56] Carthago Nova discloses the gravestone of Octavia T. f. Hibera, wife of a Pompeius Flaccus (*CIL* II 3491). Münzer derives the Plinian notice from a written source, i.e. Cornelius Valerianus (*Beiträge* [above, n. 7] 380).

[57] For the naming of the Spanish provinces see P. P. Spranger, *Madrider Mitt.* I (1960) 122ff.

by a Spanish friend, which he named *Hiberis* (25.87). Democrates was
the freedman of the historian Servilius Nonianus (*cos.* 35), whom Pliny
had known.[58]

It was only to be expected that the *herba Cantabrica* should find a
mention: *in eadem Hispania inventa est Cantabrica per Divi Augusti
tempora a Cantabris reperta* (25.85). Like the earlier known *Vettonica*
(25.84) it was good for snakebites and other emergencies. Its value
was approved by Cornelius Celsus.[59] Pliny adds a tribute to the skill of
Spaniards in discovering herbs and concocting potions both delicious
and health-giving: *ut in quibus etiam nunc hodie in more sit lautiore
convictu potionem a centum herbis mulso additis credere saluberrimam
suavissimamque* (25.85).

Like other Latin writers, Pliny duly retails the fable of mares in
Lusitania, impregnated by the warm influences of the southwest wind
(Varro, who had been in Spain more than once, started the business).
But he goes on to give precise details about the small nimble horses of
the Asturians. The species had come to notoriety long before the age of
Pliny. They are designated as *asturcones* in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*.[60]
Pliny adds a fact and a native name: *in eadem Hispania Callaica gens et
Asturica equini generis: hi sunt quos celdones vocamus, minore forma
appellatos asturcones* (8.166).

The mineral resources of a province would engage the loving care of
Caesar's financial agent. The poet Statius, celebrating Vibius Maximus,
the procurator of Dalmatia, could not leave out the mines.[61] Pliny
registers mines opened up by the conquest of the Northwest. For
example:

1) The total amount of gold produced in Asturia, Callaecia, and Lusitania
   (33.78). The figures might well be Augustan, for Asturia and Callaecia
   belonged to Lusitania until transferred to Tarraconensis when the two
   Spanish armies were fused into one.
2) A mountain of iron in Cantabria (34.149); *plumbum nigrum* there (158);
   and magnetic mineral (148).
3) The Metallum Albucrarense in Callaecia: gold, with hardly any silver
   (33.80); also *plumbum candidum* in Callaecia (34.156f), and the *gemma
   Callaica* (37.163).[62]

[58] For the evidence, Münzer, *Beiträge*, 404; Syme, *Hermes* 92 (1964) 408f.
[59] Celsus *De med.* 5.27.10. For the two plants, see A. Schulten, *Iberische
Landeskunde* II (1957) 533f.
[60] *Rhet. ad Her.* 4.63.
[61] Statius *Silvae* 4.7.14ff.
[62] The full account of the method used for extracting gold (33.67–78) is

IX. VERBAL AND WRITTEN SOURCES

In the present enquiry it has been assumed so far that many notices about the Northwest derive from autopsy. The same might hold for some items from the earlier known parts of Tarraconensis. Thus the iron foundries at Bilbilis and at Turiaso (34.144) or the juniper trees that make a desolation of the land of the Vaccaei (16.198). That people, known and fought against long since, had finally been pacified in 29 B.C. in the prelude to the Augustan campaigns.[63] By the same token, books and excerpts cannot account for all that Pliny reports about the products of inner Gaul and methods of agriculture. Rather a man with insatiable curiosity, a retentive memory — and some personal informants. One might ask what writers had dealt with such matters before Pliny.

In reference to Spain, the geographer Strabo had made complaint about Roman authors. They got their information from Greeks, they added little of their own (3, p. 166). The methods of Pliny confirm the verdict, all too often. Yet not for everything about Tarraconensis — or for Belgica, though Pliny's merits come out in small and sporadic details. He was not capable of any powerful general presentation, and he did not attempt it.

A pertinent question now obtrudes: the written sources for the natural history of Tarraconensis, especially the Northwestern tract. The preceding century had witnessed an enormous literary productivity. Not only orators and poets, but scientific writers (with provincials in high prominence), of some the bare name surviving. Which of the Latins had written about Spain?

A short catalogue may take its inception from monsters of the Ocean outside the Strait of Gades. Pliny appeals to the testimony of several Roman knights of consequence who had seen a merman in the sea off Gades: *auctores habeo in equestri ordine splendentes* (9.10). In the next section he cites a certain Turranius for a large monster (with 120 teeth) which was cast up on the coast not far from Gades. That name calls for comment, and evokes six others among the authorities used by Pliny.

1. Turranius, i.e. Turranius Gracilis. Registered for three books of the *NH* in the Index, and cited three times. He is generally held identical with the elderly C. Turranius (*PIR*[1], T 297) who was *praefectus*

---

variously noteworthy. It uses a number of technical terms, some of them Spanish, cf. Schulten (above, n. 59) 474ff.

[63] Dio 51.20.5.

annonae in 14 — and in 48 (*Ann.* 1.7.2; 11.31.1).[64] Apart from the marine beast (9.11), he was an authority on cereals in Baetica and in Africa (18.75). He was born, says Pliny, near the promontory of Mellaria where the straits are narrowest (3.3): it lies between cities of Baelo and Tingentera.

2. Trebius Niger (*PIR*[1], T 243). Registered for three books and cited three times (9.80, 89ff; 32.15). This author affirmed that in the sea off Mauretania vessels were sent to the bottom by the swordfish, *xiphias*, or caused to founder by the massive impact of flying cuttlefish (32.15). He also described the *echeneis* which had the property of delaying ships in their course — and was also used in noxious amatory potions (9.79). The long and vivid passage (9.89ff) is devoted to the nature and habits of polypods. The prime specimen came out of the sea at Carteia, it used to ravage the fishponds and even climb over fences. Its head was as large as fifteen *amphorae* — and Pliny goes on to quote the author's description (9.93).

Pliny states that Trebius Niger was one of the *comites* of L. Lucullus, proconsul of Baetica (9.89). The date and identity of that governor is a question. That he was L. Licinius Lucullus (*cos.* 151 B.C.) Borghesi contested long ago. For good reasons: the term *Baetica*, and that Lucullus was governor of Hispania Citerior. Borghesi pointed to a "L. Licinius[," proconsul of Baetica in the time of Augustus (*CIL* VI 1442).[65] Few have concurred. However that may be, Trebius Niger should be regarded as an author of the early imperial epoch. Cichorius argued that he belongs later, a coeval of Pliny.[66]

The *nomen* "Trebius" is indistinctive and offers no clue to origin. The first Trebii to be consuls (and the last) occur in a bunch under Hadrian (122, c. 125, and the *ordinarius* of 132).

3. Cornelius Bocchus (*PIR*[2], C 1333). Registered for four books and cited for Spanish matters only, Bocchus is adduced for cedar beams in the temple of Diana at Saguntum, brought there from Zacynthus 200 years before the fall of Troy (16.216); gems found in Spain, in Lusitania, and at Olisipo (37.127, 24, 97). He is patently the provincial high priest of Lusitania and local worthy L. Cornelius C. f. Bocchus, honoured at Salacia on the coast (presumably his city) by Colonia Scallabitana (*ILS*

---

[64] Münzer, *Beiträge*, 387ff.

[65] Cf. PIR[1], L 115. The person was proconsul of Bithynia. Therefore the supplement "[procos. Hispaniae] ulterioris" is not plausible: rather "q." or "leg."

[66] C. Cichorius, *Römische Studien* (1922) 96ff. Münzer, however, attached more value to the negative parts of Cichorius' argument (*RE* VI A, 2272).

2920). Caetobriga also has a dedication to him (2921). Bocchus had been military tribune in *III Augusta*, the legion in Africa.[67]

4. Cornelius Valerianus (*PIR²*, C 1471). Registered for four books, cited twice.[68] He vouched for the phoenix that appeared in Egypt in the days of Tiberius Caesar. In 36, precisely (10.5). The historian Cassius Dio also has that date (58.27.1). Tacitus, however, for his own purposes employs the phoenix to introduce the year 34, subjoining a curious digression (*Ann.* 6.28). Cornelius Valerianus also mentioned a large vine at Rome, growing in the Portico of Livia (14.11). This author is to be identified as Q. Cornelius M. f. Gal. Valerianus (*ILS* 2713: Iliberris; *CIL* II 3272; Castulo). He held a number of posts in the *militia equestris* and commanded a mixed force of troops in Thrace, early in the reign of Claudius.[69]

5. Pomponius Mela the geographer. In the Index of Pliny, but nowhere named in the text. The extent of the debt is in question — common sources come into the reckoning.[70] The work, composed about the year 43, is derivative and highly stylised. The author may have left his birthplace and gone to Rome, but the writing exhibits no sign of travel or occupations. Mela's *patria*, as he avows (2.96), was Tingentera, near Carteia on the bay of Algeciras.

6. Columella, i.e. L. Junius L. f. Gal. Moderatus Columella (*PIR²*, J 779). Registered for seven books and cited ten times (once for refutation, 18.70). As he says himself, from Gades (8.16.9). An inscription at Tarentum shows that he had been military tribune in *VI Ferrata* (*ILS* 2923). Columella reports that he had seen sesame sown in June and July and harvested in autumn *Ciliciae Syriaeque regionibus* (2.10.18); and he again refers to that crop "in Cilicia et Pamphylia" (11.2.56).

The acute Cichorius divined that the officer had been in Cilicia Tracheia (bordering on Pamphylia) during a campaign in the year 36.[71] A force was despatched from Syria to deal with the stubborn mountain tribes. The commander was the legate M. Trebellius (*Ann.* 6.41.1). Now Columella thanks *M. Trebellius noster* because he encouraged him to deal with land surveying as well as agriculture (5.1.2).[72] The two

---

[67] Two Bocchi, however, a father and a son, are now postulated by R. Étienne, *Le culte impérial dans la péninsule ibérique d'Auguste à Dioclétien* (1958) 123. In the Caetobriga inscription (*ILS* 2921) he reads "L.f" instead of "[C.]f." with firm appeal to the authority of Leite de Vasconcellos.

[68] Cf. Münzer, *Beiträge*, 370ff.

[69] E. Ritterling, *RE* XII 1648.

[70] E. Gisinger, *RE* XXI 2401f.

[71] Cichorius (above, n. 66) 417ff.

[72] The item is absent from *PIR²*, J 779.

persons (*PIR¹*, T 234f) should be amalgamated. The legionary legate
was generally taken to be the parent of M. Trebellius Maximus, consul
suffect with Seneca in 56.[73] Cichorius claims identity.[74] And with
reason. The consular was probably the first senator of his family
(cf. *Ann.* 14.42.1). Furthermore, the interval between legionary com-
mand and consulship is no bar: legates at this time were commonly
ex-quaestors.[75]

The consular probably derives from Narbonensis.[76] The son of Q.
Trebellius Rufus of Tolosa (who declined to follow the career of honours)
had a son called Trebellius Maximus (*IG* II², 4931; *AE* 1947, 69).[77] And
observe the fragment at Glanum, "M. Tre[......]/[ ]f. Maxi[mo]/
[...] Hilar [" (*CIL* XII 1017). That place was an elegant health resort.

Columella dedicated his work to P. Silvinus (1.1.15, etc.). Perhaps
himself one of the Narbonensians devoted to agriculture and polite
studies. Not yet identified. There is a dedication at Athens in honour of
C. Julius C. f. Volt. Silvinus (*IG* II², 4135; bilingual). The tribe
"Voltinia" is distinctive for those cities in Narbonensis which were not
colonial foundations. The *cognomen* "Silvinus" looks Celtic.[78]

7. Papirius Fabianus (*PIR¹*, P 85) may be roped in to round off the
company, that declaimer who turned philosopher and earned the eager
admiration of his friend Seneca. Among his writings were *Causae
Naturales* and *De Animalibus*. He is cited by Pliny nine times, for
example for the dolphin at Puteoli (9.25).[79] The nomenclature "Papirius
Fabianus" has a Spanish look. Papirii occur on six inscriptions in Spain.
One of them, at Iliberris in Baetica, honours either Cn. Papirius Aelianus
(*suff.* c. 134), or his son (*CIL* II 2075), with the tribe "Galeria," as was
to be expected.

Another of these provincial writers may be the encyclopedist
A. Cornelius Celsus (*PIR²*, C 1335), whom Pliny cites five times.

A catalogue has now been drawn up of seven authors. More perhaps,
and in more detail, than some might find desirable. Nothing can be done
with the enigmatic Trebius Niger. Of the others, however, five are

---

[73] A. Stein, *RE* VI A, 2265.

[74] Cichorius (above, n. 66) 420.

[75] Thus Papinius Allenius under Tiberius (*ILS* 945) or Helvidius Priscus in
the year 51 (*Ann.* 12.49.2).

[76] R. Hanslik opined "wohl aus Etrurien" (*RE* VI A, 2265).

[77] At a fragmentary point in the new inscription about Trebellius Rufus occurs
συνκλητ[, with, in the next line, ἐ]πε[θ]ύμησεν῾ησυχίαν. That is, a senator's son
who opted for *quies*.

[78] In *CIL* II, 14 instances; in V, 7; XII, 16; XIII, 24.

[79] For the items, W. Kroll, *RE* XVIII 1058f.

certified as Spanish, from Baetica.[80] Their lives and their interests render it unlikely that they supplied Pliny with novel information about the central and northwestern parts of Tarraconensis.

Pomponius Mela, it is true, contributed some particulars first accessible after the subjugation of Asturia, Callaecia, and Cantabria. Previously the western coast had been known, as far as the Promunturium Celticum, i.e. Nerium (Cape Narbiga), and the harbour of the Artabri (the bay of Coruña). The whole northern littoral was unknown. The first sign of the new knowledge is in Strabo, who inserts a brief note registering the river Melsus, the town Noega and the estuary (not named but clearly the Salia) which separates Asturians from Cantabrians (3, p. 167).

Mela has some rivers, beginning after Noega with the Salia, as far as the Pyrenees. Unfortunately, between Noega and that river he interpolates *tres arae quas Sestianas vocant: in paene insula sedent et sunt Augusti nomine sacrae* (3.13). This memorial to the conquest preserves the name of L. Sestius Quirinalis (*suff.* 23 B.C.) and permits the conjecture that he was legate of Augustus in Lusitania from 22 to 19 B.C.[81] But the *Arae Sestianae* were situated in another region, on the west coast, on Cape Finisterre or on Monte Louro, not far from Callaecian Noega (Noya) at the mouth of the river Tamaris.[82] Mela was misled by homonymous towns.

However, a Cantabrian tribe, the Orgenomasci, now crops up for the first time (3.15). The surviving accounts of the Augustan wars have only the general terms Cantabri and Astures.[83] The Concani of Horace (*Odes* 3.4.34) are a unique and peculiar item.

The seven authors will inspire various reflections. Three had been in the army for certain: Bocchus, Valerianus, Columella. The same may be predicated of Turranius, the only one, so far as known, to proceed to civilian employment. Each had seen service abroad, Valerianus in a number of officer posts. Bocchus and Columella had only held the military tribunate, as can happen quite often with municipal worthies who do not aspire to a career.[84] Columella tells why he preferred the study of agriculture (1, *praef.* 10).

[80] Though the *patria* of Cornelius Valerianus might be Castulo (in Tarraconensis) rather than Iliberris.

[81] As argued in *AJP* 55 (1934) 316.

[82] Schulten (above, n. 59) I (1955) 242f.

[83] Except for the Asturian Brigaecini (Florus 2.33.56), the people of Brigaecium (at or near Benavente).

[84] Cf. above, n. 27.

Valuable evidence converges, bearing upon the habits and quality of the educated class in the provinces of the West. Some were avid for marvels and the exotic, credulous when not superstitious. That did not preclude a keen business sense, exact study of plants and animals and medicine — and a passion for scientific agriculture. Oil men and viticultors from Spain could give lessons to Italy. Even Seneca conforms, who had left Corduba in infancy. Pliny has an engaging revelation: Seneca purchased vineyards in the suburban vicinity of Rome for an exorbitant price, and sold them for profit. The sage was *minime utique mirator inanium* (14.51).

Wide perspectives open, embracing the municipal aristocrats of Narbonensis and Transpadane Italy. Of Narbonensis, Pliny proclaimed *agrorum cultu, virorum morumque dignatione, amplitudine opum nulli provinciarum postferenda breviterque Italia verius quam provincia* (3.31).

Those Narbonensian *viri boni et locupletes* were men after his own heart and habits. For many reasons, Italia Transpadana itself was provincial — and a "frontier" in the dynamic and specifically American sense of the term.

X. Pliny's Career

To resume: the evidence has been scrutinised, along with many things falling short of evidence. Münzer postulated four posts, from 70 to 76.[85] Doubts were expressed. Some scholars will admit only two, viz. Africa and Tarraconensis. And it is further supposed that either or both of them might have been held prior to 69.[86] Caution is always in keeping when an author is solicited to reveal what he has not chosen to state openly. In this instance, it will not be safe to discard or ignore the testimony of the Suetonian life, even though the text is only a scrappy abridgement: *Plinius Secundus Novocomensis equestribus militiis industrie functus procurationes quoque splendidissimas et continuas summa integritate administravit.*[87] That testimony asserts employments without a break: *continuas.* Moreover, the whole tenor implies something more than a pair of posts.

Four procuratorships, that seems too much to fit into half a dozen years. The case of Attius Suburanus might be adduced, surely a good performer, to judge by the patrons he had (*AE* 1939, 60: Heliopolis).

[85] Münzer (above, n. 13) 103ff.
[86] Thus Sherwin-White (221; above, n. 14) suggests "a procuratorship of Africa in the early years of Nero, a procuratorship in Spain before 66 or after 69." Ziegler, however, appears to accept only Tarraconensis (277).
[87] Suetonius *Rel.* (ed. Reifferscheid, 1860) 92.

After serving as *adiutor* to Vibius Crispus in Tarraconensis (73/74), he held the same function under Julius Ursus, *praefectus annonae* and Prefect of Egypt.[88] Then, after three official posts, he is procurator of Gallia Belgica, presumably in the momentous year 97.[89]

The example of Attius Suburanus will not dismay or deceive any sober student of administration — or what passes for such. What obtained was far removed from a bureaucracy.[90] Patrons matter, and their own occupations, as the early career of Suburanus demonstrates. Nothing enjoined that employment must be continuous. As with the *militia equestris* (note Pliny's interval c. 51–55), chance or choice brought intervals of leisure. Not all knights were thinking in terms of a career all the time.

By contrast, merit, favour, or a crisis might abbreviate. Some seasons were highly propitious and worth exploiting. A clear case is on show. T. Haterius Nepos was appointed procurator of Armenia Maior (*ILS* 1338). That is to say, not before the annexation, in the summer of the year 114. After which, he runs through four posts at Rome, culminating in the *praefectura vigilum*. Then, as a papyrus reveals, he is Prefect of Egypt, on attestation on August 8, 119 (*P. Oxy.* 2265).

There were regular stages of advancement, but no rules for the rhythm, only ambition or accident and the will of Caesar or his friends. Not age and experience either. At almost any point, veterans dug out from retirement have to contest (but may supplant) youth and influence in high places. Pliny came up with the fortune of the Flavian House.

In recapitulation therefore:

1. Narbonensis. Pliny may at the outset have had a brief tenure acceding early in 70, as successor to Valerius Paulinus, a friend of Vespasian (*Hist.* 3.43.1) and likely to go on quickly to something better. Narbonensis, however, might be waived. Pliny's familiarity with the *provincia* might be explained in so many ways.

2. Africa, ? from 70 to 72. As has been indicated, the post may be dated by the proconsulates of Tampius Flavianus and of Vibius Crispus: placed by conjecture in 70/71 and 72/73.

3. Tarraconensis, ? 72–74. To be dated quite closely by the census figures for Asturia–Callaecia and hence by the governorship of Vibius

---

[88] These activities, though dignified with a title, are not quite stages in an official career.

[89] *Tacitus*, 56. He had begun military service with the command of an *ala*, anomalously. That is, presumably in 68 or 69.

[90] F. Millar, *JRS* 53 (1963) 194ff (in review of Pflaum).

8*

Crispus. This was a man potent with Vespasian, bland and successful; and he got a third consulship from Domitian. Tacitus labels him at an early stage as *pecunia potentia ingenio inter claros magis quam inter bonos* (*Hist.* 2.10.1). He came from Vercellae, of no known family (*Dial.* 8.1). Vercellae is in the "Pliny country," in the narrow sense of the term: that is to say, the region which now had Mediolanum as its centre, not the whole extension of Transpadana from the Cottian to the Julian Alps. Vibius Crispus may have contributed to the advancement of the Pliny family. His name is absent from the correspondence of the nephew.

Attius Suburanus, an adjutant of the governor, was destined for renown in the sequel. (His tribe, the "Voltinia," indicates Narbonensis.) The *iuridicus* of Tarraconensis was Larcius Licinus, whose decease the procurator chronicles (31.24). No legionary legate is on record. The province was stripped of troops in 70, they were needed in Gaul and in the Rhineland. *VII Gemina*, it appears, did not take up its station in Tarraconensis until 73 or 74.[91] The administration of this vast province was managed by very few people.

4. Belgica, ? from 74 to 76. The evidence (it is confessed) falls short of conviction. But not the argument. The Suetonian *Vita* asserts *procurationes quoque splendidissimas et continuas*. Nothing counsels or compels overriding that testimony. The language entails three posts at the least, not merely two (i.e. Africa and Tarraconensis); and one at least of them should agree with the epithet *splendidissima*.[92]

A knight who held Belgica was on the direct path to coveted posts at the capital, the charge of the *Vigiles* or the *Annona*. In this period they frequently led to Egypt and the command of the Praetorian Guard. The procurator of Belgica was nothing less than paymaster general of the Rhine armies (eight legions and numerous regiments of auxiliary troops). In civil war or a political crisis he mattered much more than the senator who was legate of the province. When Vitellius was proclaimed emperor early in January of 69, they executed the procurator of Belgica, loyal to Galba (*Hist.* 1.12.1, 1.58.1). In 97, when Nerva was constrained to declare the legate of Germania Superior his son and partner in the power, the procurator (it can be argued) was none other than Attius Suburanus (*AE* 1939, 60). He became Trajan's Guard Prefect (*PIR²*, A 1366).

---

[91] E. Ritterling, *RE* XII 1631f.
[92] Pflaum accepts all four procuratorships (109f; above, n. 14).

In his new form of life, Pliny no doubt aspired to an advantageous post at Rome. There is a chance that he attained it. The nephew states that Pliny was in the habit of going to see Vespasian before sunrise (the Emperor was also an early riser) and then to his job, *ad delegatum sibi officium* (*Epp.* 3.5.9).

At first sight, that looks like a precise reference to one of the urban posts.[93] In this epistle the nephew (it will be observed) refrains from specifying by name any of Pliny's civilian occupations, save the procuratorship in Spain which serves to explain the anecdote about Larcius Licinus and the notebooks (*Epp.* 3.5.17).

One might therefore ask, why not the *Vigiles* or the *Annona*? The latter is excluded by three known tenants of the office between 76 and 80.[94] Yet Pliny, after Belgica, might have been advanced to be *praefectus vigilum*, before or after C. Tettius Africanus (*CIL* XI 5382: Asisium).

However, that conjecture is impaired by a doubt, as is conceded. There is the charge of the fleet at Misenum. That may have comported long absences. In the letter describing the eruption of Vesuvius, an adjective stands in prominence: *erat Miseni classemque imperio praesens regebat* (*Epp.* 6.16.4). Therefore the admiral was not there all the time.[95]

It was a military post — observe the language of the letter. On a surface view, high in rank. The evidence for equestrian careers fails to bear out the impression. Similarly the provincial governorships held by knights with command of auxiliary troops (viz. Noricum, Raetia, and the two Mauretanias). In the next eighty years these procurators are seldom found to pass on to high posts at the capital. If Pliny had set his hopes on the *Vigiles* or the *Annona*, he may have found the way blocked by persons of superior claims or patronage. Long absence abroad, however creditable, put a man out of touch. Others in strategic posture artfully seized the places.[96]

Nonetheless, although a dozen years had intervened after the *militia equestris*, Pliny made a rapid career in a sequence of procuratorships. And, more relevant, the social advancement. Even without the rank he reached as admiral of the Misenum fleet, the friendship of Vespasian and Titus would give the family access to the upper order in the next generation. His nephew and son by adoption follows in the consulship close upon the son of the Cornelius Tacitus who had been procurator in Belgica.

[93] Münzer (above, n. 13) 110.
[94] *Tacitus*, 61.
[95] As seen by Münzer (above, n. 13) 111.
[96] For promotions to the high posts, from 70 to 120, see *Historia* 6 (1957) 483f.

XI. Friends from Tarraconensis

Civil war accelerates change and promotions. Senatorial adherents of Galba in Spain and in Narbonensis duly prospered, and there were fair prospects for knights. After his proclamation at Carthago Nova, Galba proceeded to enrol troops, including a whole new legion (the later *VII Gemina*). More significant, he created a council of advisors, *velut instar senatus*, drawn from the magnates of the province, the *primores*, as Suetonius styles them; also a bodyguard of young equestrians (*Galba* 10.2f).

The type of person is abundantly on show. In the first place the high priests of *provincia Hispania citerior* in office at Tarraco.[97] Among them excellent specimens, such as Q. Licinius Silvanus Granianus (*ILS* 2714). This man had been *praefectus* in charge of the sea coast and a *procurator Augusti*. Four magistrates of Tarraco also held that prefecture.[98] For the campaign against Nero, the pretender assigned to a certain Q. Pomponius Rufus a command embracing the coasts of Tarraconensis and Narbonensis.[99]

Of adlections made by Galba to the senatorial order, only one is on express record: P. Licinius Caecina, whose parent Pliny knew (20.199). If not Galba, it was Vespasian a little later who either adlected or promoted a Pomponius and the anonymous *vir praetorius*. Their parents were both *principes* of Hispania Citerior (22.120, 20.215). Conjecture can insert another name. A fragmentary inscription at Legio (León) mentions a man called Praesens (*CIL* II 2666). An imperial procurator, it appears. Observe "]aris Aug." (l. 4). He was "*adlectus* [*inter pra*]*etorios*." Of the first line there survive the letters "]trix." That is, perhaps *VI Victrix*, the only legion in Spain when Galba was proclaimed. He left it there, but it went to the Rhine in the winter of 69/70 (*Hist.* 4.68.4), never to return. For the nominative of a legion in a dedication, compare, a few years earlier, "[legio VI F]errata" (*ILS* 9108: Cyzicus).

---

[97] For the catalogue, no fewer than seventy "flamines p.H.c.," see Étienne (above, n. 67) 131ff. That scholar placed the equestrian posts, military or civil, of high priests after that office. An error, cf. J. Deininger, *Die Provinziallandtage der römischen Kaiserzeit* (1965) 124f, 152; H.-G. Pflaum in *Les empereurs romains d'Espagne* (1965) 92ff.

[98] *CIL* II 4264 = *ILS* 2716; 4266 = *ILS* 2717; 4224; 4217. The last of these was also high priest of Tarraconensis. For completeness, note M. Porcius Narbonensis, high priest but not magistrate (4329), and L. Antonius Silo, with no civil functions shown (4138 = *ILS* 2715).

[99] *IRT* 537 (Lepcis): "praef. orae marit. Hispan. cit. Gallia[e] N[a]rbon. bello qu[od] imp. G[a]lba pro [re p.] gessit." It is not certain that he is identical with Q. Pomponius Q. f. Col. Rufus, prefect of the *ala Gemelliana* in 64 (*CIL* XVI 5).

Otherwise the word might be "[Ul]trix," that is Nemesis, or some other deity. It is highly anomalous to have the nominative, but compare, expressly Nemesis, *magna ultrix* (*ILS* 3738: Rome). A relevance to Galba has in fact been detected in the dedication made at Clunia to *Juppiter Augustus Ultor* by a soldier of *X Gemina* (*ILS* 9239). That legion was not in Spain, it is true, but in Pannonia when Galba was proclaimed. He sent it to Spain, where it remained until the summer of 70 (*Hist.* 5.19.1).

One looks further for other partisans of Galba in Tarraconensis. An inscription at Tarraco discloses "[R]aecius Taur(us) [.]f. Gal. Gallus," who had been "[trib. m]il. Galb. imp."[100] He became provincial high priest, then quaestor of Baetica, tribune of the plebs and praetor, before the death of Vespasian.[101] A striking anomaly — no other high priest is known to have entered on the senatorial career.[102] He was clearly a man with the *cognomen* "Gallus" adopted by M. Raecius Taurus, who is attested as a senator in 49, a *frater arvalis* in 69 (also probably towards the end of 68).[103] Freedmen of a M. Raecius are suitably discovered on inscriptions at Tarraco.[104]

Vespasian paid posthumous honour to the memory and cause of Sulpicius Galba. It was perhaps in his censorship (73/74) that Q. Pomponius Rufus, like some other Tarraconensians, entered the Senate by adlection. Pomponius reached the consulship at last in 95, after three praetorian employments. He went on to be legate of Moesia Inferior (attested in 99), and proconsul of Africa a decade later.[105]

---

[100] *AE* 1932, 84, cf. PIR², G 64. The text needed serious revision, which it has received, and interpretation. See J. Deininger, *Madrider Mitt.* 4 (1963) 99ff; H. G. Kolbe, *ibid.*, 6 (1965) 116ff; R. Nierhaus, *ibid.* 120ff. Deininger supplies an excellent photograph. For "Taur. [f.]" one should read, with Kolbe, "Taur[i f.]." See now *AE* 1966, 189.

[101] And, since he was made *sodalis Augustalis*, should have been in prospect of the consulship. A Gallus was consul suffect in 84.

[102] Deininger (above, n. 100) 124. By mishap he added Voconius Romanus (Pliny *Epp.* 2.13.4, cf. 10.4.2), on whom see below.

[103] PIR¹, R 9. The fragment *CIL* VI 2045 is there assigned "a. inc. Neronis." Since it registers the presence of M. Otho (previously for long years in Lusitania) it should be dated to the last months of 68. Therefore M. Raecius Taurus suitably emerges as a nominee of Galba. One may add P. Valerius Marinus, attested as a *frater arvalis* in 69 (*CIL* VI 2051) — and designated by Galba for a consulship in that year (*Hist.* 1.71.2). Another provincial notable, it might be surmised.

[104] *CIL* II 4304, 4401; also Raecia M. f., *AE* 1938, 19.

[105] *IRT* 537; *CIL* XVI 44f. Generally held consular legate of Tarraconensis, as in *Tacitus*, 648. Better, *iuridicus*, cf. above, n. 51.

Attention should also go to Pompeius Longinus, appointed tribune in the Praetorian Guard, by special favour, as Tacitus observes: *non ordine militiae, sed e Galbae amicis* (*Hist.* 1.31.3). He may be identical with Cn. Pompeius Longinus, rising by the governorship of Judaea to be consul suffect in 90 (*PIR*[1], P 469).

To complete the register one may add an *Ignotus* at Tarraco, *adlectus inter tribunicios* by Vespasian (*CIL* II 4130). Better, L. Baebius L. f. Gal. Avitus, procurator of Lusitania (*ILS* 1378: Rome); nomenclature and tribe suggest Spain, if not Tarraconensis.[106] Best of all, perhaps, L. Antonius Saturninus (*suff.* 82). It is recorded that Vespasian adlected him.[107] Perhaps son of the provincial high priest L. Antonius Saturninus.[108]

The author of the *NH* does not claim many persons as acquaintances. However, he has specified three in Tarraconensis. That encourages the search for others acquired there or elsewhere. In the last days of his life a Spanish friend was present, on a visit to the admiral (*Epp.* 6.20.5).

When the volcano blew up, Pliny received a note appealing for help from a lady called Rectina, wife of a Cascus (perhaps Cn. Pedius Cascus, *suff.* 71).[109] It is a fair conjecture that Rectina was related to the wife of the nephew's close friend and coeval, Voconius Romanus (on whom see below). Further, having set out in his vessel and reached the vicinity of Stabiae, Pliny exclaimed to the steersman *fortes fortuna iuvat: Pomponianum pete* (*Epp.* 6.16.11). Hence a Pomponianus perhaps belonging to the Spanish Pomponii — but the *nomen* is far too common. Nor does a putative son of Pomponius Secundus have to be invoked.

For the dearth of precise evidence a providential compensation offers. The "circle" of the younger Pliny ought to include persons or families inherited from the procurator. In the first place stands Voconius Romanus, one of the better sort in Spain, as is shown by what is said

---

[106] His only military post was that of tribune in *X Gemina* (which was in Tarraconensis in 69).

[107] Aelian, frag. 112 H.

[108] *CIL* II 4194, adduced in *Tacitus*, 596. He exhibits the tribe "Galeria" and magistracy at Tarraco. Unfortunately, no indication of date. A "L. Antonius L[" occurs on a basis of the same size and lettering as that of a high priest shortly after the death of Commodus: *Eph. Ep.* VIII, p. 450, no. 200, cf. no. 199 = *AE* 1897, 100. In any case, the nomenclature is indistinctive. Observe Antonia L. f. Saturnina (*CIL* VIII 7032: Cirta), the aunt of C. Arrius Antoninus (*suff.* c. 169).

[109] The husband's name is a problem. M. Schuster reads "Rectina Casci" (Teubner, 2nd ed. 1952), but Sir Roger Mynors prefers "Rectina Tasci" (OCT, 1963).

about parentage and stepfather — and he had recently been high priest at Tarraco (*Epp.* 2.13.4). His *patria* is patently Saguntum. By his full style he is C. Licinius Marinus Voconius Romanus, with Popillia L. f. Rectina for wife (*CIL* II 3866: Saguntum).[110]

Next, Calpurnius Flaccus, who receives an unrevealing little letter (5.2). C. Calpurnius P. f. Quir. Flaccus is properly adduced for annotation, a high priest at Tarraco (*ILS* 6946).[111] Problems of identity arise, because there is C. Calpurnius Flaccus, suffect consul with L. Trebius Germanus (*ILS* 7912), no doubt the same person as the Flaccus with the tribe "Quirina," proconsul of Cyprus (*PIR*[2], F 171).[112]

Mamilianus, an army commander c. 108 gets two missives (9.16 and 25). He is identified as T. Pomponius Mamilianus (*suff.* 100). It will be added that the *leg. Aug.* at Deva, i.e. a legionary legate, bears the tribe "Galeria" (*CIL* VII 164 = *IRB* 445): either this man or his son, the *suffectus* of 121.[113]

These instances encourage one to go further. Baebius Hispanus attracts the eye, whose aid Pliny solicited in the purchase of a small farm, on behalf of Suetonius Tranquillus (1.24). Observe, at Saguntum, "]o L. f. Gal. Hispano/Pompeio Marcell[o]/[A]ntonio Siloni/Paull[o]."[114] That city also has a Baebia L. f. Marcella (*CIL* II 6032).[115] For the item "Antonius Silo," compare at Tarraco L. Antonius Silo, local magistrate and *praefectus orae maritimae* (*ILS* 2715).

Nor will Julius Sparsus be neglected (4.5; 8.3), often held identical with Sex. Julius Sparsus (*suff.* 88), but perhaps a son. The *cognomen*

---

[110] Pliny asked Nerva *ut illum in amplissimum ordinem promoveret* (*Epp.* 10.4.2), and he renewed the plea to Trajan. That he succeeded is the common assumption. Thus Étienne (above, n. 67) 161, 465; Deininger (above, n. 100) 125, 153; Sherwin-White (above, n. 14) 173ff. Against, Syme, *Tacitus*, 83; *Historia* 9 (1960) 365f. There is no sign in the correspondence that Voconius was in fact adlected. By normal practice the high provincial office was a bar, not a recommendation. The exception is Raecius Gallus, a product of civil war (above, p. 229).

[111] Sherwin-White (above, n. 14) 316.

[112] Calpurnius Flaccus is now attested as proconsul in 124 (*BCH* 86 [1962] 404: Salamis). Identity with the high priest is naturally excluded. The latter has likewise the "Quirina." Not the tribe of Tarraco itself, which is "Galeria," but he was a *curator templi* there and *praefectus murorum*.

[113] Cf. *JRS* 47 (1957) 132. Either way, not governor of Britain. The only Pomponius on the list of high priests is T. Pomponius T. f. Avitus (*CIL* II 4235).

[114] *CIL* II 3839, as revised in *AE* 1955, 161.

[115] Common anywhere in Spain, Baebii are especially thick at Saguntum: *CIL* II shows about 24, including four magistrates.

"Sparsus" is preternaturally rare. In no town of Italy or the Roman West, except once at Nemausus (*CIL* XII 3558), and twice in Tarraconensis, viz. L. Licinius Sparsus, high priest at Tarraco (II 4198) and Licinia Sparsi f. (2648: Asturica).[116]

Before he became consul Pliny already had a friend and patron in the person of Julius Servianus (*suff.* 90). Of high eminence and success, probably the son by adoption of Julius Ursus (*PIR²*, J 630), an equestrian potentate. The origin of Julius Servianus lacks attestation. He is generally supposed Spanish, which raises the further question: Baetica or Tarraconensis.[117] Also from Spain, if he was not from Narbonensis, is L. Fabius Justus (*suff.* 102), the friend to whom Tacitus dedicated the *Dialogus*.[118] Pliny writes to him at an early stage in the correspondence (1.11).

Licinius Sura, who outstrips his senior Julius Servianus, becoming consul for the third time in 107, only turns up later, to receive a pair of missives: the one describes a peculiar spring near Comum (4.30), the other recounts three stories about apparitions (7.27). Licinius Sura (it is pretty clear) issues from some city in the northeast of Tarraconensis. He has ties both with Tarraco and with Barcino, neither of which may be his *patria*. He carries the tribe "Sergia."[119]

The colony of Barcino was the home of the illustrious and consular Pedanii, with a consul in 43 (the first from Spain on record since the scandalous anomaly of the Gaditane Cornelius Balbus).[120] The youth of birth and oratorical promise Pedanius Fuscus did not get his letter

---

[116] For a Sparsus on an Augustan coin at Osca, see M. Grant, *From Imperium to Auctoritas* (1946) 167. Otherwise the *cognomen* only occurs with Fulvius Sparsus, a rhetor frequently cited by the elder Seneca (PIR², F 560), and C. Lusius Sparsus, consul suffect c. 157.

[117] Servianus has recently been assigned to Italica by R. Étienne in *Les empereurs romains d'Espagne* (1965) 61. For no valid reason. And when Licinius Sura and Platorius Nepos also acquire that *patria*, the results look peculiar in their disproportion (*ibid.*, 74).

[118] As argued in *JRS* 47 (1957) 133. An inscription at Olisipo cannot be admitted. It runs "[F]abius Iusti f. Gal. Rufus Cluniens." (*CIL* II 214). Clunia is no *patria* for a senator.

[119] *CIL* II 4282 (the arch outside Tarraco, on the road to Barcino). The tribe "Sergia" does not preclude an origin in Tarraconensis, cf. *Tacitus*, 791. Sura constructed an edifice at Barcino (*CIL* II 4508: fragmentary and anonymous). That city has dedications in honour of his freedman L. Licinius Secundus, at least eighteen of them: for a specimen, *ILS* 1952.

[120] For the Pedanii and their origin, E. Groag, *RE* XIX 23ff; Syme, *Tacitus*, 785; *Historia* 17 (1968) 85ff, 89f.

(7.9) until he had been betrothed to Julia, the daughter of Julius Servianus (6.26.1). The father (*suff.* c. 84) had none.

Barcino also produced L. Minicius Natalis (*ILS* 1029), consul suffect in 106 with Q. Licinius Silvanus Granianus. The pair were related: the item "Quadronius Verus" occurs in the nomenclature of their sons (*ILS* 1028 and 1061). Silvanus was *patronus* of Baetulo, a few miles northeast of Barcino along the coast (*AE* 1936, 66); and Baetulo also honours his son (*ILS* 1028).[121] Perhaps, however, Tarraco is his original home, not Baetulo or Barcino. His father had been high priest of the province (*ILS* 2714).[122]

The consulships of Natalis and Silvanus reflect (it should seem) the influence of Licinius Sura. Neither is on the list of Pliny's correspondents. Nor is the old consular Q. Pomponius Rufus. Negative evidence often helps to delimit a "circle," and various categories of absentees will suitably be evoked.

For all the distrust which the artifices of the ingenious author might inspire, the Plinian company is a genuine assemblage, from consulars down to small friends at home.[123] The large nucleus is local and regional, and it can be circumscribed. Not the whole of Transpadane Italy, from Augusta Taurinorum to Aquileia and Tergeste. Nor yet the whole of the Augustan *Regio XI* (defined in *NH* 3.123). Mediolanum is the centre of the "Pliny country," with an extension eastwards to Brixia and Verona in *Regio X*.[124]

Nor was Pliny at pains to solicit illustrious names. In fact, no descendant of Republican or Augustan consuls is on the list.

The distribution by class and rank and origin proves variously instructive. Reference has already been made to friends of the procurator in or from Narbonensis. Yet not many Narbonensians are registered among the correspondents of the senator. In the forefront stands Cornelius Tacitus, with no fewer than eleven missives. Valerius Paullinus (*suff.* 107) from Forum Julii is one of his early friends (*Epp.* 2.2, etc.). Likewise Fabius Justus (1.11, etc.) — but Fabius might derive from Spain. The elderly and cultivated Arrius Antoninus (*suff.* 69,

---

[121] Dessau referred *ILS* 1028 to the *suffectus* of 106; cf. Groag, *RE* XIII 459 Patently, however, a son; not known to have reached the consulate.

[122] Since that document, at Tarraco, names no town for his origin, Tarraco is generally assumed his *patria*.

[123] Sherwin-White (above, n. 14) 69.

[124] For that definition, *Tacitus*, 86, and remarks in *JRS* 58 (1968), forthcoming.

suff. II? 97) emerges, but not among the earliest (4.3). He probably came from Nemausus.

Otherwise the harvest is meagre and disappointing.[125] A conjecture may be made about the young Julius Naso (4.6), the son of an orator long dead (6.6.4). Tacitus had commended him to Pliny, clearly in ignorance that Pliny knew him (6.9.1). It is a relevant fact that no senatorial Julii of the early Empire can be shown to derive from Transpadane Italy. In the first instance, therefore, the *nomen* points to Narbonensis, or Tres Galliae.[126] His brother is clearly Julius Avitus who died at sea when coming back from a provincial quaestorship (5.21.3, cf. 6.6.6).

Some other names might be adduced. The Ruso who receives a letter in which Julius Frontinus is referred to (6.23.2), may be claimed as P. Calvisius Ruso Julius Frontinus (*suff.* 79), or his son, the consul of 109.[127] And a thought might go to Lupercus, a man of exacting taste in oratory (2.5; 9.26).[128] Or again, Attius Clemens (1.10; 4.2).[129]

Next, the "Spanish friends" of Pliny. The term is a misnomer. On exact scrutiny, Tarraconensis overwhelms the other two provinces.

There is no letter to M. Annius Verus (*suff.* 97), that excellent character soon to reveal himself as a master in the art of arranging dynastic matches among the new provincial nobility. And none to that cultivated youth P. Aelius Hadrianus (quaestor in 101, praetor in 106), the son of a cousin of Trajan. Neither, in fact, earns even a bare mention anywhere. Indeed, not one of the correspondents of Pliny can be certified as originating from Baetica.[130]

That being so, the distant and backward province of Lusitania, with no name in Latin literature apart from the knight Cornelius Bocchus (cf. above), does not look promising. If the Celer who receives a letter about oratory and style (7.17) is the same as Caecilius Celer (1.5.8), nothing forbids adducing a modest senator honoured at Olisipo.

---

[125] *Tacitus*, 801f.

[126] *Ibid.*, 801. On Julius Naso see now C. P. Jones, *HSCP* 72 (1967) 279ff.

[127] *Tacitus*, 801f.

[128] The senator Q. Valerius Lupercus Julius Frontinus (*CIL* XII 1859f: Vienna) is cited by Sherwin-White (above, n. 14) 150.

[129] *Tacitus*, 802, citing the fragmentary name of a knight from Vienna (*CIL* XIV 2691: Praeneste).

[130] A surprise, and instructive. Pliny had prosecuted two proconsuls of Baetica, viz. Baebius Massa and Caecilius Classicus. Further, when in 97 the Baetici wish to start a prosecution against a certain Gallus (rank and identity not specified), Pliny asseverates his connection (*Epp.* 1.7.2).

L. Caecilius L. f. Celer Rectus (*CIL* II 190).[131] The nomenclature is indistinctive, and Olisipo, with its fairly abundant crop of inscriptions, can show other names current in the Roman West and not safe to build upon, such as "Julii Aviti." [132]

The orator Lucceius Albinus (3.9.7; 4.9.13) is in a better case — if he is the Albinus who receives a letter (6.10). As emerges from 3.9.7, the advocate was not an early or an intimate friend of Pliny. Olisipo shows a *flaminica* of the province, *Servilia L. f. Albini*, with, on the side of the inscription, *Lucceia Q. f. Albina Terentiani* (*CIL* II 195).[133] Pliny's friend (it will be added) was Cn. Lucceius Albinus, as may be deduced from the name of a freedman on the list of the servitors of the *pontifices* in 101 (*CIL* VI 32445). His parent (it is assumed) is the Lucceius Albinus who was procurator in charge of both Mauretanias in 69 (*Hist.* 2.58f).

XII. Epilogue: Tarraconensis and Baetica

So far the Tarraconensian interests of Pliny the procurator in his life and work and writings. The clear gain is the evidence for personal or local attachments. Some of the alliances between provincial families took their origin in the home country. Others accrued abroad in the service of the Caesars, or at Rome in schools and salons.

To the rise and victory of the Romans of the West, as embodied in Trajan and the Antonine dynasty, Tarraconensis contributed powerfully, as witness Licinus Sura, who like Licinius Mucianus was the maker of an emperor, or the Pedanii and others.[134] But Tarraconensian families do not survive in the nexus of that dynasty.[135]

The central bond is an alliance between Baetica and Narbonensis: viz. M. Ulpius Traianus married to Pompeia Plotina of Nemausus, with

[131] Sherwin-White (above, n. 14) 97. The document registers no tribe in the man's nomenclature.

[132] Viz. a magistrate (*CIL* II 186; 4952 = *ILS* 323) and five others (299; 300; 301; 5010; *AE* 1946, 20); and, for that matter, half a dozen more in Lusitania. But there are also Julii Aviti at Aquae Sextiae in Narbonensis (*CIL* XII 556), cited in PIR², J 189. Hence not clear evidence about the origin of Julius Avitus, the brother of Julius Naso (*Epp.* 5.21.3, cf. 6.6.6).

[133] Adduced by Sherwin-White (above, n. 14) 232.

[134] The origin of Mucianus is a mystery. Like Sura, he has the tribe "Sergia" — and he might derive from Tarraconensis, cf. *Tacitus*, 791.

[135] Pedanius Fuscus (*cos.* 118) and his wife Julia (daughter of Julius Servianus and niece of Hadrian) fade out quickly, cf. *Historia* 17 (1968) 87. Their young son perished along with the nonagenarian Servianus after Hadrian at the end of 136 adopted L. Ceionius Commodus as heir and successor.

Aelii, Aurelii and Annii in the sequel (the Aurelii derive from Nemausus). The Ulpii, like some other families from Baetica (for example, Annaei and Dasumii), avow non-Latin *gentilicia*, going back to the ancient stock of the Italian immigration, auxiliary soldiers or traders in the wake of the legions. Time and enrichment engendered a planter aristocracy.

Tarraconensis exhibits a contrast (though partial). Some immigrants, to be sure, like the Pedanii (the name is Etruscan).[136] Others among the notables derive their names ultimately from proconsuls of the imperial Republic, either through grants of the citizenship or a *nomen* spreading and being adopted anyhow. Hence Fabii, Licinii, Valerii, for example. Certain Licinii have already come up in these pages. By paradox, the signal and ultimate glory of Tarraconensis resides in polite letters — and the interior, not the zone of older civilisation. It is conveyed by a professor and a poet, viz. M. Fabius Quintilianus and M. Valerius Martialis, sons of Calagurris and of Bilbilis, and native by their ultimate origin. Clunia in the back country acquired ephemeral renown from Sulpicius Galba. Theodosius, the first Spanish emperor after Trajan, was born not far away, at Cauca in the territory of the Vaccaei.[137] Not but what adulation and historical fantasy quickly invented Italica as his *patria*, and descent from Trajan.[138]

BRASENOSE COLLEGE, OXFORD

---

[136] Likewise "Raecius," cf. Schulze, *LE* 217. Tarraco can show L. Caecina Severus, magistrate and *praefectus orae maritimae* (*ILS* 2716), also "L. Caecinae" in large letters on a large block of marble (*CIL* II 4281); and Barcino has the *nomen* "Trocina" (*Eph. Ep.* IX, p. 146, no. 395; *AE* 1957, 31).

[137] Zosimus 4.24.4.

[138] Pseudo-Victor *Epit.* 48.1 (not long after 395).

SENECA AND JUVENAL 10

BERNARD F. DICK

DESPITE its noble *sententia*, "orandum est ut sit mens sana in corpore sano," Juvenal 10 is usually interpreted as a poem of un-relenting pessimism with a cynical beginning that is matched by an agnostic conclusion.[1] It has been called "a distorted picture of human nature and human life,"[2] with an ending which, "though grand in its simplicity, is one of a piece with this pessimism."[3] This type of criticism, while reflecting Lord Byron's views on the poem, fails to take into account two important points: first, Juvenal in Satire 10 is abandoning his earlier stance as an angry satirist, preferring Democritus' laughter at human folly to Heraclitus' tears;[4] secondly, the poem ends on a note of irony in much the same way as does Erasmus' *Moriae Encomium* or Voltaire's *Candide*. Of course, one's acceptance of an ironic ending for Juvenal 10 depends upon an acceptance of the final two verses — a matter that will be discussed shortly.

That Satire 10 is negative or angry seems no longer tenable. Recently, there has been a healthier trend in Juvenalian criticism from which a different portrait of the satirist emerges. He is no longer a misanthrope resorting to what Erasmus called "occultam illam scelerum sentinam" (*Moriae Encomium, praef. ad fin.*), but a poet using a voice that is often not his own and employing devices such as paradox and emphasis to

---

This article is an expanded version of a paper presented at the December 1965 meeting of the APA and entitled "The Ending of Juvenal's Tenth Satire."

[1] Quotations and references to Juvenal 10 follow the text of W. V. Clausen, *A. Persi Flacci et D. Iuni Iuvenalis Saturae* (Oxford 1959).

[2] D. E. Eichholz, "The Art of Juvenal and His Tenth Satire," *Greece and Rome* 3, 2nd series (1956) 68.

[3] G. Lawall, "*Exempla* and Theme in Juvenal's Tenth Satire," *TAPA* 89 (1958) 30.

[4] W. S. Anderson, "The Programs of Juvenal's Later Books," *CP* 57 (1962) 145-160, has argued quite convincingly that the theme of *indignatio* does not extend beyond Book 1 and cannot be applied to the entire corpus, for in Satire 10 the poet advocates the Democritean attitude toward life and in 13 ridicules the indignation of Calvinus.

transform an essentially myopic theme into a humanistic statement.[5]
Certainly there is much in Juvenal 10 that might be termed ugly, particu-
larly the poet's exploration of the theme of *molesta senectus*, replete with
the most intimate sexual details. Yet Seneca, despite his exalted position
of moralist, is not beyond parading human grotesqueries before the eyes
of Lucilius, and thereby illustrating how philosophy frequently in-
trudes upon the domain of satire.[6] Nor does Lucretius refrain from
mocking the lovesick in a passage that can only be described as satirical
(4.1155ff).[7]

An adherence to a philosophy like Stoicism with its hierarchy of
stultus, proficiens, and *sapiens* could easily give someone of satiric bent
an air of superiority as he gazes down on the rest of erring mankind.
Consider Seneca's first letter to Lucilius, which sets the tone of his
correspondence; its theme is stated directly: *stultitia mortalium* (*Ep.*
1.3). So, too, when a satirist turns Stoic — at least for the duration of
his satire — he can utter similar pronouncements. The point at issue
in this paper is not whether Juvenal was a professed Stoic. Poets are
notoriously inconsistent philosophers, and Juvenal forestalls any attempt
at a permanent classification by claiming that he has embraced no philo-
sophical creed (13.120–123). But how does one account for the Stoic
coloring of much of Juvenal's thought, especially in Satire 10, where,
in selecting the dangers of ambition and the futility of solipsistic prayer
for satiric treatment, he seems to have leaned heavily on the Stoic ethic
for ideas and *exempla*? It is certainly difficult to imagine Juvenal as
conversant with the finer points of Stoic theory; he would probably be
at a loss if asked to give catechetical definitions of *logos, pneuma,* and
phantasia. But it is not difficult to imagine that the satirist was familiar

---

[5] Anderson is chiefly responsible for the trend away from using the *Satires* to
reconstruct Juvenal's biography. In "Studies in Book I of Juvenal," *YCS* 15
(1957) 88, he has done much to clarify Juvenal's early method by calling it "a
technique of exposition by which he progressively strips away the potential
connotations of a concept and ultimately leaves it with a single glaring signifi-
cance that, by its enormity, justifies his indignation." In *Anger in Juvenal and
Seneca* (University of California Publications in Classical Philology 19, no. 3,
Berkeley and Los Angeles 1964) 127–195, Anderson uses the critical vocabulary
of Kernan's *The Cankered Muse* and emphasizes the "voice," not the person,
of the satirist.

[6] Cf. J. Wight Duff, *Roman Satire* (Berkeley 1936) 30.

[7] On the satiric in Lucretius, see C. Murley, "Lucretius and the History of
Satire," *TAPA* 70 (1939) 380–395, and D. R. Dudley, "The Satiric Element in
Lucretius," in *Lucretius* (Studies in Latin Literature and Its Influence, New
York 1965) 115–130.

with Seneca, certain of whose views (e.g., on prayer and the use of the *exemplum*) were compatible with his own. Several scholars have argued for a Senecan influence on Juvenal;[8] others, while admitting that such an influence may exist, add the caveat that Juvenal read considerably more than just the works of Seneca.[9] However, Satire 10 owes more to Seneca than to anyone else. Furthermore, a reading of this poem along Stoic lines will remove much of what is alleged to be bitter and negative. Seneca, in fact, provides the key to the satire, for its conclusion, that one should pray for nothing (and this is not quite the same as saying there is nothing for which to pray), is consonant with Seneean Stoicism.

I. The Senecan Framework

De Decker has provided the clearest outline of Satire 10 by showing how it centers around six major themes: wealth, civil power, eloquenee, military power, longevity, and physical beauty.[10] First Juvenal gives some general observations on the folly of mankind; simply put, men do not know what they want. Moreover, they cannot distinguish between true blessings (*uera bona*) and banes (*illis multum diuersa*). Seneca's viewpoint (*Ep.* 45.6) is quite similar: "Pro bonis mala amplectimur; optamus contra id quod optauimus. Pugnant uota nostra cum uotis, consilia cum consiliis." Juvenal observes that once man achieves his goal, he laments both his efforts and his granted wish (5–6). Again Seneca's remarks are pertinent (*Ep.* 118.7): "Omnes autem male habet ignorantia ueri; tamquam ad bona feruntur decepti rumoribus, deinde mala esse aut inania aut minora quam sperauerint, adepti ac multa passi uident." To Juvenal, most men are enveloped in a cloud of error (*erroris nebula*), and therefore only a few can perceive (*pauci dinoscere*) the difference between blessings and their opposite. To Seneca (*Ep.* 124.5) man suffers from ignorance of the truth (*ignorantia ueritatis*) and

[8] Namely R. Schuetze, *Juuenalis ethicus* (inaug. diss. Greifswald 1905) 46–61; J. van Wageningen, "Seneca et Iuuenalis," *Mnemosyne* 45 (1917) 417–429; C. Schneider, *Juvenal und Seneca* (inaug. diss. Würzburg 1930), who collected the right passages but avoided making anything even resembling a critical judgment.

[9] G. Highet, "The Philosophy of Juvenal," *TAPA* 80 (1949) 261, admits that Juvenal "seems to have read Seneca fairly carefully," but prefers to think that the poet was converted to Epicureanism in later life; Anderson, *Anger* (above, n. 5) 175, while making an excellent case for a Senecan background for the *Satires*, prefers to consider Seneca as more of an analogue than a source, although "it is to be expected that Juvenal had read widely and carefully studied the revolutionary stylist of the Neronian Age."

[10] *Juuenalis declamans* (Ghent 1912) 132.

needs a subtle and acute faculty like the eye to distinguish between good
and evil (*bonum malumque dinoscere*).

WEALTH (23–53)

The most common prayers are for riches, but Juvenal cynically
remarks that the wealthy must fear for their lives, particularly when
drinking out of a goblet that might easily contain poisoned wine. Seneca
also scorns prayers for riches (*Ad Polyb.* 4.2) and observes how lust for
money has driven sons and wives to commit murder by poison (*Ep.*
119.6): "An has ideo non putas esse diuitias, quia propter illas nemo
proscriptus est? Quia propter illas nulli uenenum filius, nulli uxor
inpegit?"

Juvenal does not devote much attention to the topic of *diuitiae*. He
no sooner introduces it than he is making the well-known comparison
between Democritus and Heraclitus. It is not coincidental that the locus
classicus for the difference in attitude between the two philosophers is
Seneca's *De ira*.[11] A comparison[12] of the two treatments shows that
Juvenal began the Democritus–Heraclitus passage with Seneca in
mind:

Juvenal (28–30)	Seneca (*De ira* 2.10.5)
iamne igitur laudas quod de sapientibus alter	Heraclitus *quotiens prod-*
ridebat, quotiens a limine mouerat unum	*ierat . . . flebat . . .*
protuleratque pedem, *flebat contrarius* auctor?	Democritum *contra*
	aiunt numquam sine *risu*
	in publico fuisse . . .

Only the emphasis is different. Juvenal begins the comparison with
Democritus, Seneca with Heraclitus. Juvenal concentrates on Democ-
ritus because of his avowed preference for the Democritean manner;
Seneca emphasizes the person of Heraclitus, who was so notoriously
lacking in *tranquillitas*.

[11] C. Lutz, "Democritus and Heraclitus," *CJ* 49 (1953–1954) 309–314, has
investigated the history of the comparison and attributes its source to Seneca's
teacher, Sotion. But as Anderson (*Anger*, 176 n. 5) observes, it was Seneca who
made the comparison into a literary convention.
[12] The italics are mine.

Before proceeding to his second topic, civil power, Juvenal pauses to ask a general question (54):

> ergo superuacua aut quae perniciosa petuntur? [13]

The division of human wishes into useless (*superuacua*) or dangerous (*perniciosa*) is also Senecan (*Ben.* 6.27.7): "Votum tuum aut superuacuum est aut iniuriosum . . ."

CIVIL POWER (56–113)

Juvenal's *exempla* of men who reached the height of power only to fall from it comprise Sejanus, Crassus, Pompey, and Caesar.[14] In Seneca, all are *exempla* of *mutatio fortunae*. Fortune seduced both Pompey and Crassus (*Ep.* 4.7), who as a result suffered deaths far more ignominious than they deserved. In Juvenal's eyes, it was lust for the *summus locus* (110) that overthrew these men. To Seneca (*Ep.* 94.64ff) it was *insanus amor magnitudinis falsae* that motivated Pompey, while Caesar was led on by *gloria et ambitio et nullus supra ceteros eminendi modus*. There is certainly nothing in Seneca quite so brilliant as Juvenal's account of Sejanus' fall, but Seneca does allude to the risks involved in being intimate with Sejanus (*Ep.* 55.3) and observes that his fall from eminence was so complete that there was nothing left for the *carnifex* (*Tranq.* 11.11).

ELOQUENCE (114–132)

Juvenal and Seneca share similar views on the futility of eloquence. Juvenal uses Cicero and Demosthenes as *exempla*, but Seneca is more general (*Ep.* 14.11): "Nam forensis eloquentia et quaecumque alia populum mouet aduersarios habet. . ." Among the *stulti* Seneca enumerates (*Tranq.* 6.2) are those who fall because of *eloquentiae fiducia*.

MILITARY POWER (133–187)

Here one finds the *felices*, particularly Hannibal, Alexander, and Xerxes, whom Fortune showered with her favors, only to take them back when her devotees required them most. Hannibal is also a Senecan *exemplum* of *mutatio fortunae* (*De ira* 2.5.4) whose crossing of the Alps, brilliantly executed as it was, now only inspires interest in historians (*NQ* 3, *praef.* 6), just as to Juvenal it is merely a *declamatio* for schoolboys (166–167). There is great similarity between the Juvenalian and

---

[13] I am following Clausen's punctuation; on the notorious verses 54–55, cf. G. Highet, *Juvenal the Satirist* (Oxford 1954) 278.

[14] Caesar is not mentioned by name, but the allusion in 108–109 is unmistakable.

Senecan depictions of Alexander; both writers present him as *infelix*, chafing within the narrow boundaries of the world and yearning to transcend all limits:

Juvenal (168–169)	Seneca (*Ep.* 94.62)
unus Pellaeo iuueni non sufficit orbis, aestuat infelix angusto limite mundi . . .	Agebat infelicem Alexandrum furor aliena uastandi et ad ignota mittebat.[15]

LONGEVITY (188–288)

Both Juvenal and Seneca (*Breu. uit.* 11) revile prayers for longevity and present an unflattering picture of the *decrepiti senes* who vainly make their petitions. To Seneca, prayers for length of years are the basest one can make (*Ep.* 101.10). Juvenal is quite explicit about the ills that accompany old age (198ff). Seneca is less offensive but still manages to be clinical (*Ep.* 101.14):

Inuenitur aliquis, qui uelit inter supplicia tabescere et perire membratim et totiens per stilicidia emittere animam quam semel exhalare? Inuenitur, qui uelit adactus ad illud infelix lignum, iam debilis, iam prauus et in foedum scapularum ac pectoris tuber elisus, cui multae moriendi causae etiam citra crucem fuerant, trahere animam tot tormenta tracturam?

Toward the end of the *multi anni* topic, Juvenal again alludes to Pompey, but this time from a different standpoint. The poet is extolling the benefits of an early death and remarks that, had Pompey died before Pharsalus, he would never have experienced so ignominious a defeat. Campania in her foresight gave Pompey a fever that was much to be desired, but people made the mistake of praying for his recovery (283–285). Seneca also makes the observation (*Ad Marc.* 20.4) that, had Pompey died of this fever, he would have departed *indubitatus populi Romani princeps*.

PHYSICAL BEAUTY (289–345)

Seneca is equally vehement about prayers for physical beauty, and his handsome young man who is always prey to the *magna feminarum turba uiros corrumpentium* (*Ad Marc.* 24.3) foreshadows Juvenal's Endymion, whose looks elicit snares from both sexes.

CONCLUSION (346–366)

For what should one pray, then? Juvenal recommends the *mens sana in corpore sano*, but only if one must have an object of prayer. He then

[15] Cf. also *Ben.* 5.4.3.

goes on to suggest other, more salubrious objects: a mind free from fear of death, free from wrath and desire. But these are only suggestions, always accompanied by the implicit, "if you must pray for something, then pray for this." There is a giant question mark hovering over Juvenal 10: for what exactly should one pray, and to whom? And the answers seem to be nothing and no one respectively.

Again Seneca's views are no different (*Ep.* 10.4): "roga bonam mentem, bonam ualitudinem animi, deinde tunc corporis." As an object of prayer Seneca recommends the *mens bona* for those who do not possess it, but for the most part he insists that prayers are fruitless (*Ep.* 31.5): "Quid uotis opus est?" In the antiprayer letter par excellence (*Ep.* 60), Seneca begins with an outburst of anger (*queror, litigo, irascor*) and goes on to indict the mothers and nurses who have uttered pernicious prayers over the cradles of their charges, thereby dooming the infants to the care of Fortune, who hears such petitions.

Is Juvenal's disdain toward prayer the reason for the so-called pessimism of the satire? A close reading of the last twenty verses would not seem to warrant a negative interpretation.

First, Juvenal indicated a preference for the Democritean satirist early in the poem; now he fulfills his goal admirably. In a fragment of Democritus (234 Diels) we read that men will pray for health from the gods, unaware that they have within them the power to help themselves: ὑγιείην εὐχῇσι παρὰ θεῶν αἰτέονται ἄνθρωποι, τὴν δὲ ταύτης δύναμιν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἔχοντες οὐκ ἴσασιν. Consider Juvenal's *monstro quod ipse tibi possis dare* (363), "I am showing you what you can give to yourself." But the philosophy reflected in this verse is also Senecan, for it is nothing other than the doctrine of αὐτάρκεια. In the same context where Seneca expresses the futility of prayer (*Ep.* 31.5) he also espouses the self-sufficiency of man: "Fac te ipse felicem." In his antiprayer letter (*Ep.* 60.2) he asks how long we will continue to impose upon the gods, as if we cannot help ourselves: "Quousque poscemus aliquid deos ita quasi nondum ipsi alere nos possimus?" One can give oneself the *mens sana*; this philosophy is Democritean, Senecan, Juvenalian, humanistic.

Secondly, the ending of Juvenal 10 is only as "pessimistic" as the doctrine of the *sapiens*. Seneca's ideal prayer (*Ep.* 118.4) is uttered to no one (*nulli supplicare*) and consists in despising Fortune. The *sapiens* possesses complete self-sufficiency. Therefore, he should pray for nothing — which, as said above, is not quite the same as saying there is nothing for which to pray. There are some good prayers left, according to Juvenal and Seneca, but only some: the *mens sana* (*bona*), freedom from fear of death. These might be the prayers of the *proficiens*, the one

striving to be a sage. But the *stulti* will go on clasping the knees of statues, enacting the same ritual throughout the ages.

II. The Last Two Verses

Any discussion of Juvenal 10 must take into account the meaning and relevance of the final verses:

> nullum numen habes, si sit prudentia: nos te,
> nos facimus, Fortuna, deam caeloque locamus.

In his 1950 edition, Knoche bracketed them, having argued elsewhere [16] for their deletion as *uersus repetiti* (they reappear in 14.315–316). There are those who would follow Knoche in deleting them, and others who defend the verses.[17] The chief argument for excising the lines — that there are no *uersus repetiti* in Juvenal just as there are none in Horace, Tibullus, Propertius, Lucan, Seneca's tragedies, *et al.* — implies that Juvenal's poetry is cast in the same mold as the above-mentioned authors. It is quite conceivable, as Highet points out, that Juvenal repeats verses "to add punch to some point he wishes to drive home."[18] In the absence of more solid evidence, the context is the sole arbiter.

In the final verses, Juvenal claims that we make a deity of Fortune because we lack wisdom (*prudentia*). These verses are Senecan in meaning, but Juvenalian in expression. We should first recall that to Seneca the true prayer consists in despising Fortune. He also says in another letter (*Ep.* 66.23) that Fortune controls *pecunia et corpus et honores*. But cannot the six goals enumerated in Satire 10 be ultimately reduced to the desire for money, bodily pleasure, and public offices? In the final verses Juvenal is saying that these goals are misdirected precisely because they are under the control of a fickle and mobile power. Yet we make a deity of this power — and why? Because we lack *prudentia*. And we will continue to deify Fortune as long as we keep seeking or hoping for anything.[19]

---

[16] In "Zur Frage der Properzinterpolation," *RhM* 85 (1936) 26 n. 3, and *Handschriftliche Grundlagen des Juvenaltextes* (*Philologus*, suppl. 33.1, 1940) 69 n. 1.

[17] Agreeing with Knoche are W. C. Helmbold, *The Structure of Juvenal I* (University of California Publications in Classical Philology 14 no. 2, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1951) 50 n. 23, and Lawall (above, n. 3) 31. Eichholz (above, n. 2) 68 argues in favor of them. Clausen retains them in his edition, and his remarks on alleged *uersus suspecti* (*praef.* XII–XIII) are a model of philological sanity.

[18] Highet (above, n. 13) 95.

[19] The scholiast has interpreted 366 quite accurately: we deify Fortune "dum

The prayers in Satire 10 are all for the *uita beata* — or what men think the *uita beata* is. But, as Seneca remarks (*Ep.* 85.2), all one really needs for the happy life is *prudentia*. By introducing *prudentia* in the penultimate verse, Juvenal states in one word what was lacking in the aspirations of the *stulti*: wisdom. One who knows Fortune's incalculable nature would not direct his prayers to her.

There is that last ironic touch at the end of the poem that is so characteristically Juvenalian. Consider the end of Satire 1. After a fierce display of *indignatio* and a trip through one of the best freak shows in literature, one expects an ending that will be an avalanche of venom. Instead, Juvenal announces that he will attack only the dead. The satirist has had the last laugh. He ends with neither a bang nor a whimper, but with a smirk. In less skilled hands such an ending would be anticlimactic; in Juvenal's it becomes irony. In Satire 3 one anticipates a final indictment of Rome, but instead there is a parody of Virgil's first Eclogue. Juvenal revels in doing the unexpected.

The reader expects the end of Satire 10 to be quite different from what it is. Juvenal owes us something positive. After a look at the worst we should see the best. But what does he do? By the use of *nos* (366) he includes himself among the misguided. The satirist is a passenger on his own *Narrenschiff*.

The final lines are also part of the poem's structure. The last verse is a necessary link in the pattern of images; it closes the circle that Juvenal started to trace at the beginning. The satire is one of place imagery. Juvenal establishes his macrocosm in the first line (*omnibus in terris*), and then moves into a geocosm — Troy, Rome, Greece, Persia, Carthage — where ambitions are constantly limited and *stulti* yearn to break out of their narrow surroundings into a glorious infinity. He is always underscoring the Senecan belief (*Ep.* 89.20; *De ira* 1.21.2) that it is folly to go beyond one's boundaries. Juvenal ends ironically with a microcosm: Fortune, who encourages such aspirations, is herself confined (*locamus*) in heaven by her worshipers. The satirist closes his poem with the same image with which it began.

III. Conclusion

Each *topos* in Juvenal 10 has a corresponding parallel in Seneca; both satirist and philosopher share similar viewpoints and occasionally

---

petimus aut speramus aliquid" (*Scholia in Iuuenalem uetustiora* ed. P. Wessner [Leipzig 1941] 182).

similar expressions. One can therefore legitimately speak of a Senecan background for the satire. Furthermore, a Senecan reading of the poem removes the charge of pessimism and the theme of the "infinita vanità del tutto" that some critics have superimposed on Juvenal's thought. The satire argues for an enlightened attitude toward prayer: one that is not based on self-prostration before Fortune.

Iona College

THEODOSIUS THE GREAT AND THE
REGENCY OF STILICO

Alan Cameron

O N September 6, 394, Theodosius I won a decisive victory over the
usurper Eugenius at the river Frigidus. Four months later, on
January 17, 395, Theodosius himself died at Milan, leaving the Empire
divided between his two sons: the Western half to Honorius, the
Eastern to Arcadius.

At once Stilico, *magister militum praesentalis* and husband of Theodo-
sius' favourite niece Serena, declared that Theodosius had on his
deathbed appointed him regent of both Emperors. Honorius, still only
nine years old, was clearly in need of some sort of mentor; but Arcadius,
at eighteen, was quite old enough, it might have seemed, to rule in his
own right. Nevertheless most recent historians have been prepared to
give Stilico the benefit of the doubt. But their preoccupation with this
settlement Theodosius may or may not have made on his deathbed has
led them to ignore or reject some important evidence concerning an
earlier settlement. I shall be arguing in this paper that Stilico's appoint-
ment as regent of Honorius was not a deathbed wish of Theodosius, but
a decision both taken and made public some little while before he fell
fatally ill. I do not believe that Stilico was ever appointed regent of
Arcadius — at least not in any significant sense of the word.

My reconstruction is based mainly on Zosimus. Now Zosimus is a
careless and unreliable compiler who wrote at least a century after the
event: he can often be convicted of serious errors and confusions. But
not always. Sometimes he both understands his source and accurately
reproduces it. And his source is here the history of Eunapius,[1] who, if
not a historian of the first rank, was at least a contemporary. There is a
tendency among modern scholars to reject *in toto* the account of an
admittedly careless writer as soon as he can be shown to have erred in

---

[1] For Zosimus' dependence on Eunapius cf. most recently *CQ* n.s. 13 (1963)
232ff, and for his date, A. Chastagnol, *Historia-Augusta-Colloquium Bonn
1964/5* (1966) 75.

one detail. But it is hazardous to reject entirely the chronological frame-
work of the only continuous narrative we possess and replace it by a re-
construction based on no better evidence than the patently propagandist
assertions of Claudian. I propose to assess each detail of Zosimus'
account on its own merits and in the light of such other evidence as we
possess. Thus, whatever the intrinsic plausibility of my reconstruction,
it does at least have the virtue of being based more closely on the original
sources than that which has hitherto held the field.

<div align="center">I</div>

Here is the first part of the relevant chapter of Zosimus (4.59.1):

Τῶν δὲ πραγμάτων ὧδε τῷ βασιλεῖ Θεοδοσίῳ προχωρησάντων [i.e. his
victory at the Frigidus], *ἐπιδημήσας τῇ Ῥώμῃ τὸν υἱὸν Ὀνώριον
ἀναδείκνυσι βασιλέα, Στελίχωνα στρατηγόν τε ἀποφήνας ἅμα τῶν
αὐτόθι ταγμάτων καὶ ἐπίτροπον καταλιπὼν τῷ παιδί.*

For convenience the contents of this section may be divided up as
follows:

    (A) Theodosius visits Rome.
    (B) He crowns Honorius Augustus there.
    (C) He appoints Stilico *magister militum per Occidentem*.
    (D) He appoints Stilico guardian or regent of Honorius.
Now of these propositions (B) is certainly false, and (A) is generally
supposed to be false: hence (C) and (D) have usually been rejected along
with (A) and (B).

First (B). It is clear from 4.58.1 that Zosimus was under the impression
that Theodosius took Honorius with him when he left Constantinople
for Italy in 394 (*Ὀνώριον ἅμα ἑαυτῷ συνεξαγαγών*). In fact there can be
no doubt that Honorius stayed behind in Constantinople and was
summoned to Italy by Theodosius after his victory, arriving shortly
before the end of the year (see below). Moreover, when Honorius
entered upon his sixth consulate in 404 at Rome, Claudian, in the poem
he wrote to celebrate the event, plainly states that this was only Honorius'
second visit to the capital (*VI Cons. Hon.* 422f). The first visit took place
in 389, when Theodosius brought him to Rome as an infant in the year
of his victory over the earlier Western usurper Magnus Maximus.
Zosimus is definitely wrong, therefore, in claiming that Theodosius
proclaimed Honorius Emperor in Rome.

This brings us to (A). For the error in (B) has generally been ex-
plained on the hypothesis that Zosimus has mistakenly placed in 394,
after the defeat of Eugenius, the visit Theodosius in fact paid to Rome in

389, after the defeat of Maximus. The historicity of this 394 visit was first denied, so far as I know, by Lenain de Tillemont, and the subject has been endlessly debated ever since. Well worn though the issue is, it is relevant, if not central, to my argument and will occupy much of the first half of this paper. At present, opinion seems on the whole to be against such a visit. It would be tedious and unprofitable to catalogue here the surprisingly extensive literature for and against, so, at the risk of appearing to argue *ad hominem*, for the most part I confine myself to the most recent and authoritative rehearsal of the arguments against by W. Ensslin,[2] which has generally been held decisive. But I shall also have to consider several points — at least one of them substantial — missed by Ensslin. I do not feel that certainty is attainable either way, but it does seem to me that the case for admits of a rather more thorough and persuasive formulation than it has received hitherto.

Now it is certainly not out of the question that a careless writer such as we know Zosimus to have been should have chosen the wrong one of Theodosius' two Italian expeditions as the occasion for his one visit to Rome. And it is true that Honorius was with Theodosius in Rome in 389, and also that Zosimus does not record a visit by Theodosius in 389. On the other hand there are several considerations which tell against the simple assumption of such a straightforward error.

(a) Theodosius did not take Honorius with him on the expedition of 389 any more than on that of 394. As in 394, Honorius was summoned later from Constantinople.[3] This is a mistake on Zosimus' part (see p. 266), but not a mistake which can be explained on the assumption that he has misdated to 394 an event of 389.

(b) Nor did Theodosius declare Honorius Augustus in Rome in 389 any more than in 394. Honorius' elevation took place in Constantinople in 393.[4]

(c) Nor was Stilico appointed *magister militum per Occidentem*, much less regent, in 389. He may not even have accompanied Theodosius on this expedition.[5]

---

[2] "War Kaiser Theodosius I zweimal in Rom?" *Hermes* 81 (1953) 500ff. Ensslin's arguments were accepted as definitive by Palanque ap. E. Stein, *Bas-Empire* I (1959) 534 n. 160, and most recently (e.g.) by F. Paschoud, *Roma Aeterna* (1967) 83, and A. Lippold, *Theodosius der Grosse* (1968) 43. The most recent authority to accept the visit was A. Piganiol, *L'Empire chrétien* (1947) 268.

[3] Cf. O. Seeck, *Gesch. d. Untergangs d. ant. Welt* V (1913) 227, 530.

[4] Cf. Seeck, *Regesten*, p. 281.

[5] E. Demougeot, *De l'unité à la division de l'Empire romain* (1951) 135, argues that he did, but the letter of Symmachus on which she bases her argument

(d) The greater part of the rest of this chapter of Zosimus is devoted to describing a harangue Theodosius addressed to the Roman senate. This harangue, as I shall argue in the next paragraph, fits much more naturally into the context of 394 than 389. Thus, even supposing that *all* these details are mistaken, there can be no question of correcting Zosimus by simply transposing them from 394 to 389. The situation is much more complex than this.

II

Now for Theodosius' harangue to the Roman senate. The section is too long to be quoted in full, but may be summarised as follows:

Theodosius exhorted the senators to abandon their paganism and turn to Christianity. The senators all refused to forsake the gods who had kept their city from destruction for nearly 1200 years. Theodosius then informed them that the cost of the pagan ceremonies would no longer be borne by the state: (a) because he did not approve of state funds being used for such a purpose, and (b) because he needed the money to pay his troops. The senators protested that the sacrifice could not be properly performed (κατὰ θεσμόν) except at the public expense.[6] But they were ignored, the state subsidies were withdrawn, and the ruin of the Western Empire inevitably followed.

Now clearly this section, if historical, has an importance which transcends our present concern with it. But it is alleged:

(1) that if Theodosius ever had such a debate with the senate, it was in 389, not 394;

---

should probably be dated to 398, not 389: see n. 41 below. Timasius, Richomer, Promotus, and Abundantius were the generals Theodosius used on this occasion (Philostorgius, *HE* 10.8).

   [6] This is sometimes taken as meaning that the senators were reluctant to foot the bill themselves. This may well in some cases have been true, but the real point is surely that they believed (no doubt in all sincerity) that sacrifices could not properly be performed in the name of the state if they were not performed *by* the state: that is to say, they would not be effective if performed at private expense. The gods would not protect the city unless it (and not just certain individual citizens) performed the due sacrifices. This was the traditional Roman view: cf. Cicero's well-known principle "separatim nemo habessit deos, neve . . . privatim colunto" (*De Legg.* 2.19). That the economic aspects of the anti-pagan legislation of Gratian and Theodosius did indeed cause much concern to the pagan aristocrats has rightly been emphasised by J. A. McGeachy, Jr., *Q. Aur. Symmachus and the Senatorial Aristocracy of the West* (diss. Chicago 1942) 151, and F. Paschoud, *Historia* 14 (1965) 219ff, and *Roma Aeterna* (1967) 79ff. That

(2) that the financial arguments cannot be historical because Gratian had already withdrawn the state subsidies from pagan cults in 382;

(3) that the pagan moralising which closes the section suggests that what precedes it is mere pagan propaganda, designed to lay the blame for the ruin of the Western Empire on the disestablishment of the pagan cults.

I will take these arguments in reverse order:

(3) Just because Zosimus interprets this event from a pagan point of view, this does not necessarily mean that it never happened. It was precisely the fact that it did which gave rise to the pagan interpretation of its consequences.

(2) It is perfectly true that Gratian withdrew all state subsidies from the Roman state cults in 382. On the other hand, it is abundantly attested that there was a complete (if short-lived) pagan revival under Eugenius. Traditional Roman festivals and oriental cults alike were celebrated with great pomp in the early months of 394.[7] Obviously this must have been done at public expense: as we have seen, the pagans insisted that they were not valid if privately performed (n. 6). This was the price Eugenius had to pay for the support of the pagan aristocracy.[8] Naturally therefore it was very necessary for Theodosius to reaffirm that the state would not meet such expenses in future. And if the pagan festivals had been celebrated on the scale alleged by the *Carmen Adversus Flavianum*, then it is not surprising that Theodosius βαρύνεσθαι τὸ δημόσιον ἔλεγε τῇ περὶ τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τὰς θυσίας δαπάνῃ (4.59.2).

(1) It is argued that by 394, when he had already issued a number of edicts proscribing all forms of pagan worship under the direst penalties,

---

Zosimus too should stress this aspect is strong evidence in favour of according some respect to his record of the debate. It is much too circumstantial to be dismissed as fiction.

[7] See H. Bloch, *Harv. Theol. Rev.* 38 (1945) 199ff. I am not convinced by G. Manganaro's dating of the so-called *Carmen Adversus Flavianum* to 408/409 (*Giorn. ital. di filologia* 13 [1960] 210ff): his "echoes" of Claudian are quite unconvincing. Yet he has shown that it must be regarded as less than certain that the poem is addressed to the elder Flavian.

[8] There was a period during which Eugenius equivocated by returning the confiscated temple revenues, not to the temples, but to the pagan senators, obviously to avoid suggesting to Christians that he had actually sanctioned the revival of state support of cults (cf. Piganiol, *L'Emp. chrétien*, 266). But this was evidently a compromise which satisfied the pagan party, and in any case, it is likely that Eugenius committed himself more openly to the pagan cause before long (cf. Bloch [above, n. 7] 228ff).

Theodosius would never have bothered to reason with pagan senators in the manner Zosimus depicts; that in 389, on the other hand, Theodosius pursued a markedly conciliatory policy towards the senate. It is certainly true that Theodosius got on good terms with the great pagan aristocrats during his stay in 389. Flavianus and Symmachus, the leaders of the pagan party, made such an impression on him that he appointed the former quaestor in 389 and praetorian prefect in 390, and the latter consul in 391 (with another pagan for his colleague).[9] But can it really be said that the debate Zosimus records illustrates a positively friendly attitude? According to F. Paschoud, Theodosius "s'addresse fort humblement aux sénateurs."[10] I must confess I can see no traces of humility in Theodosius' attitude — nor evidently could the senators, to judge from their hostile reaction. Nor indeed did Zosimus himself, who refers back to Theodosius' visit to Rome in a later book (5.38.2), commenting that τῆς ἱερᾶς ἁγιστείας ἐνεποίησε πᾶσιν ὀλιγωρίαν, with the result that priests and priestesses were driven from their temples, which were left abandoned. He records also that during Theodosius' visit his niece Serena profaned the shrine of the Magna Mater and insulted a Vestal Virgin (5.38.3) — crimes for which the senate exacted terrible vengeance in 410. I find it very hard to believe that all this happened in 389, when Theodosius was so well disposed to men like Symmachus and Flavianus. On the contrary it fits exactly into the context of 394 (below, p. 264).

And what of Theodosius' refusal to maintain pagan cults at state expense? As we have seen above, this is both perfectly comprehensible and very relevant in the context of autumn 394. But it is inconceivable in 389. For no pagan sacrifices had been celebrated at state expense between 382 and 393. Nothing could prove this more clearly than the four separate attempts made in this period by the pagan aristocracy, under the leadership of Symmachus, to have Gratian's edict repealed. But Theodosius' statement that the treasury was oppressed (βαρύνεσθαι) by expenditure on sacrifices only makes sense if public money had *recently* been spent on sacrifices, as it had been in 394.

An *argumentum e silentio* may profitably be adduced here. Socrates mentions Theodosius' visit of 389 and devotes half the chapter in question to praising his magnanimity in sparing the life of Symmachus, although Symmachus had delivered a speech in praise of Maximus (5.14). An ecclesiastical historian did not have to discuss an event like

---

[9] Cf. Stein, *Bas-Empire* I (1959) 208.
[10] *Historia* 14 (1965) 234.

Theodosius' visit to Rome, but once he had mentioned it, and indeed taken the opportunity of dwelling on Theodosius' treatment of pagans there, it would be very remarkable if he had ignored such tough measures against paganism as Zosimus ascribes to him if they had been taken during this visit. Yet Socrates records no such measures.

The testimony of another ecclesiastical historian requires rather closer consideration. Theodoret, when writing of the period 388/390, refers forward to a visit Theodosius made to Rome συχνοῦ . . . χρόνου διελθόντος (5.23.8). Clearly this cannot be the visit of 389. Ensslin, however, argues that the events Theodoret places during this visit belong to the 389 visit, and that (like Zosimus) he mistakenly placed the only visit known to him during the wrong one of Theodosius' two Italian expeditions. Now it must certainly be admitted that Theodoret was not a very good historian, and it is perfectly possible that he did make such a confusion. But possible is not the same as certain or even probable.

In the first place, Ensslin's case depends largely on the assumption that Theodoret knew of only *one* visit, which he misplaced. But the matter is not quite so simple as this. Here is Parmentier's text:

χρόνου δὲ συχνοῦ διελθόντος εἰς τὴν ʽΡωμαίων ἀφικόμενος πόλιν, ὁ βασιλεὺς τὰς αὐτὰς πάλιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπισκόπων κατηγορίας ὑπέμεινεν, ὡς τὴν Φλαβιανοῦ τυραννίδα μὴ καταλύων.

However, three manuscripts read πάλιν for πόλιν, and ʽΡώμην for ʽΡωμαίων[11]: if this is correct, then plainly Theodoret *did* know of two visits by Theodosius, and Ensslin's whole case falls to the ground. On the face of it Parmentier's text might seem more satisfactory from the palaeographical point of view: πόλιν corrupted to πάλιν under the influence of the πάλιν later in the sentence. But suppose Theodoret *did* write πάλιν: it is easy to see how a scribe who did not understand the allusion might have been prompted to make the easy "correction" πόλιν (the alteration of ʽΡώμην to ʽΡωμαίων would naturally have followed).[12] Moreoever — and most significant — this reading is at least as old as the sixth century, five centuries before our earliest extant manuscript. For it is reflected in the often very accurate Latin translation of Cassiodorus' protégé Epiphanius: "post aliquantum tempus

[11] I derive all my information from the preface and apparatus of Parmentier's *GCS* edition of 1911 (revised by Scheidweiler 1954).

[12] It might also be observed that with the dubious exception of 1.10.10, where there is good manuscript authority for πολιτείαν instead of πόλιν, Theodoret always elsewhere calls Rome ʽΡώμη, not ἡ ʽΡωμαίων πόλις.

Romae[13] *denuo* veniens imperator easdem[14] ab episcopis patiebatur
querellas, quasi Flaviani tyrannidem subdere noluisset" (*Hist. Trip.*
9.44.9). A further argument in favour of πάλιν must wait until this
sentence has been studied in the context of the chapter as a whole.

The subject of the chapter is the schism of Antioch. There were two
claimants for the see of Antioch: Paulinus, recognised by Rome and
Alexandria, and Flavian, recognised by almost all the Eastern churches
except Alexandria. The schism continued even after Paulinus' death in
388, despite the flagrantly illegal consecration of Paulinus' successor
Evagrius. It is when writing of the period after Paulinus' death that
Theodoret refers to Theodosius visiting Rome "much later." At Rome,
says Theodoret, Theodosius was reproached for not deposing Flavian
(text above). This, claims Ensslin, is an allusion to the council of
Caesarea-in-Palestine of 393, where Theodosius came down in favour
of Flavian. Thus, he argues, these complaints against Theodosius for
not deposing Flavian must be placed before 393, after when "war ...
bei Theodosius die Sache endgültig für Flavian entschieden" (p. 503)
— and therefore during the 389 visit. This seems to me not only not a
necessary inference, but not even a very likely one. Surely the fact that
Theodosius was reproached for *not* deposing Flavian suggests rather
that he had at that time *already* made his decision for Flavian. Moreover,
whatever may have happened at Caesarea (and this is quite uncertain),
Flavian was not recognised at Rome till c. 398.[15] Thus, if Theodosius
had visited Rome in 394, the Roman clergy would almost inevitably
have taken the opportunity of trying to persuade him to reverse his
decision and depose Flavian in favour of Evagrius. And the general
tenor of Theodosius' reply to them certainly supports this interpretation.
During this visit, according to Theodoret, he τὰς αὐτὰς πάλιν ...
κατηγορίας ὑπέμεινεν: πάλιν surely implies that he was now subjected *a
second time* to the same reproaches that had been levelled at him on an
earlier occasion. When and where was this earlier occasion? Presumably
during his (first) visit in 389. The Roman clergy will naturally have
seized this opportunity of presenting their case to Theodosius. And

---

[13] The locative is better attested than the accusative (as printed in older
editions) and Jacob–Hansen are doubtless correct to prefer it in their *CSEL*
edition of 1952.

[14] It does not seem to me significant that Epiphanius omits the second πάλιν in
his translation. He cannot have taken it with ἀφικόμενος, and he may simply have
felt that *easdem* sufficiently translated the rather pleonastic πάλιν αὐτὰς by
itself.

[15] S. L. Greenslade, *Schism in the Early Church*[2] (1964) 167, J-R. Palanque, in
Fliche-Martin, *Hist. de l'Eglise* III (1950) 450.

some at least of the earlier representations of the Roman clergy which Theodoret had described earlier in the chapter surely *did* take place in Rome. For Theodoret relates them immediately after the death of Paulinus late in 388, when Theodosius was already in Italy, and says that, wearied by the importunity of the Roman clergy, Theodosius at length sent to Constantinople to summon Flavian to Rome. Flavian excused himself because it was winter,[16] and in the following spring simply returned to Antioch, at which Theodosius was again urged by the Roman clergy to summon him to Rome, again without success. It is hardly possible to reconstruct a precise chronology from these hints, but Theodosius' first letter to Flavian cannot be placed before the very end of 388, in which case the second will belong in spring/summer 389: and, in view of the lapse of time implied by "at length" and the reference to Theodosius' weariness, the first letter should probably be placed late in 389, and the second in spring/summer 390 (Theodosius remained in Italy until mid-391). In either case one or the other of the letters was probably sent during his Roman visit of 389 (13 June–1 September).

So, after describing at length the pressure brought to bear on Theodosius by the Roman clergy in Rome, there is something odd in Theodoret's then saying that *when Theodosius visited Rome* he was subjected to the same pressure *again*. The natural implication of "when Theodosius visited Rome" is that Theodosius had not previously been in Rome. And why "again" — unless this is a *second* visit? Whether or not Theodoret wrote the truth, we may surely presume that he did not write nonsense. Coherence can easily be restored by writing πάλιν for πόλιν. What Theodoret is saying is that when Theodosius *returned* to Rome (i.e. in 394) he was subjected to the same pressure all over again: εἰς τὴν 'Ρώμην ἀφικόμενος <u>πάλιν</u>, τὰς αὐτὰς <u>πάλιν</u> κατηγορίας ... ὑπέμεινεν. So far from the second <u>πάλιν</u> condemning the first, it actually requires it.

And once more, as with Zosimus, more than the simple error envisaged by Ensslin would be involved. For in the course of his reply to the Roman clergy Theodosius is represented as making the point that it

<hr />

[16] The winter Flavian used as an excuse would then be that of 389/390. But an alternative and in some ways preferable chronology (cf. e.g. Palanque, *S. Ambroise et l'Empire romain* [1933] 255) is that Theodosius' letter was sent in 391 in an attempt to get Flavian to attend at the council held at Capua in winter 391/392. In that case this would be the winter Flavian used as an excuse to avoid attending. If so, then the subsequent visit to Rome mentioned by Theodoret would have to be that of 394 (at least in Theodoret's mind). But the objection to this seems to be that it would make nonsense of Theodoret's πάλιν.

was now a long time since Paulinus had died. Yet Paulinus died at the end of 388, only six months before the 389 visit. So if Theodoret *has* misplaced the visit, then he has also adjusted Theodosius' reply to suit 394 rather than 389. Furthermore, there is nothing to suggest that Theodoret, little concerned with secular history, made use of Eunapius, and it would be an odd coincidence if both Theodoret and Eunapius (assuming that Zosimus reflects Eunapius) both made the same confusion independently. Especially since Theodoret does not relate the visit he mentions in connection with either of Theodosius' Italian expeditions, but with an ecclesiastical event. The only sources we know Theodoret to have used who do mention a Roman visit by Theodosius — Socrates and Sozomen — both make clear that the visit they record took place after the expedition of 388. Of course it may be that Theodoret did make an error nevertheless; but there is certainly nothing in his account to support this supposition. And if we accept πάλιν there are positive objections to it.

We pass next to the evidence of Prudentius, who mentions both Theodosius' visit and his speech to the senate. Indeed he devotes nearly a hundred lines of his *Contra Symmachum* to it (1.415–506). Once more we read how Theodosius exhorted the stubborn pagans to abandon their wicked pagan ways. But in Prudentius' version he meets with a very different response. The pagans blushed with shame, tore off their pontifical robes, and six hundred families were converted on the spot! Ensslin, of course, argues that Prudentius is writing of the 389 visit. But it can only be 394.

At 1.410 Prudentius describes Theodosius as "gemini bis victor caede tyranni." *Tyrannus*, as always in the usage of the period, means "usurper." According to Ensslin (p. 506), the *two* usurpers are Maximus and his son Victor. He argues that seven years separated the defeat of Maximus from that of Eugenius, whereas Maximus and Victor were defeated at the same time and would therefore more naturally be linked together. Despite the fact that Victor was a mere child, the special pleading is not in fact quite so extreme as might appear. The inscription to the obelisk erected in Constantinople to commemorate Maximus' fall proclaims that it was "iussus et extinctis palmam portare tyrannis,"[17] presumably counting Victor along with Maximus. But this was before Eugenius' revolt and fall. It is difficult to believe that anyone writing

---

[17] *CIL* III, 373 (*ILS* 821): see my discussion of the inscription in *Athenaeum* 44 (1966) 32f.

(as Prudentius was) after the defeat of this second usurper by Theodosius within little more than five years could have styled Theodosius "gemini bis victor tyranni" and not have meant to include Eugenius as well as Maximus. St. Ambrose, in his funeral oration on Theodosius, alluded twice to the Emperor's victory over the two usurpers, in each case meaning Maximus and Eugenius (*De Ob. Theod.* 39, 56). And Claudian, another exact contemporary, uses the very phrase *gemini tyranni* no fewer than three times, on each occasion meaning Maximus and Eugenius, and styles Gildo, who revolted from Honorius in 398, *tertius tyrannus*,[18] the first and second being, of course, Maximus and Eugenius. Thus there can be no question that Prudentius too was referring to Maximus and Eugenius. Furthermore, to my mind Prudentius' *bis* implies two separate victories, rather than one campaign against two joint usurpers. And what is perhaps hardest of all to credit is that Prudentius could have placed the mass conversion of the pagan aristocracy he so complacently describes *before* the pagan revival of 393–394, when there were considerable numbers of apostasies back to paganism. One could always, of course, argue that Prudentius' account is unhistorical, even imaginary. He was, after all, a poet. But on the face of it we must surely admit that he dated the visit he describes to 394. And the fact that he places during this visit an attempt by Theodosius to convert the pagan aristocracy is strikingly corroborated by Zosimus. The possibility that Zosimus (or rather his source Eunapius) had read Prudentius, and drew his account of the visit thence, cannot formally be ruled out but is so remote as to be negligible. Even granted that Eunapius could read Latin (which is unlikely enough), it is almost inconceivable that he spent his time reading contemporary Christian poetry.

The epigraphic evidence bearing on a visit in 394 is unfortunately inconclusive. After Eugenius' defeat in 394, Flavianus, his principal supporter among the pagan aristocrats, committed suicide. Theodosius professed sorrow at his death, and said that he would have spared him. This is attested on the inscription to a statue erected in Flavian's honour some years later:[19] "patres conscripti .... quem [sc. Flavianum] vivere nobis servarique vobis — quae verba aput vos fuisse plerique meministis — optavit [sc. Theodosius Imperator]." We must certainly

---

[18] *Prob. et Ol.* 108, *IV Cons. Hon.* 72, *De Bell. Get.* 284, *De Bell. Gild.* 6.
[19] *CIL* VI 1738 (*ILS* 2948): cf. *JRS* 56 (1966) 35f.

9*   ·

admit, with Ensslin (p. 504), (a) that the statue was not erected till 431, when there can have been few left who could actually "remember" any such speech, (b) that the "verba" might as easily refer to a proclamation Theodosius sent from Milan to be read in the senate house of Rome, (c) that, even if Theodosius did deliver the speech in person, it might have been before a gathering of senators convoked in Milan. Nevertheless, we cannot rule out the equally legitimate and perhaps more natural inference from the words "patres conscripti," "verba," and "aput vos," that Theodosius in person addressed the senate in Rome itself. And, though the statue was not erected till 431, the man responsible for it was Flavianus' son, who had been city prefect in 394: he will certainly have remembered the occasion.

Numismatic evidence (apparently unknown to Ensslin) was adduced by O. Ulrich-Bansa.[20] A joint Theodosius-Arcadius-Honorius issue from Rome with the legend URBS ROMA FELIX, where the Augustus on the reverse "e rappresentato in abito militare in una posa che bene si addice al trionfatore di Eugenio." But Hill, Kent, and Carson[21] assign the issue to the period 402–408, in which case the Theodosius in question would have to be Theodosius II. Being no numismatist, I have consulted Dr. Kent, who assures me (a) that the Theodosius is represented in a subsidiary position and is indisputably Theodosius II, and (b) that the issue (if related to any imperial presence at Rome at all) is connected with Honorius' visit of 404.

Another mare's nest was stirred up by V. Grumel,[22] who argued from a vague passage in Claudian that the *urbs* of *III Cons. Hon.* 147, where Honorius came to visit Theodosius in 394, had to be Rome, not Milan. But, *pace* Grumel, Claudian does *not* say that Honorius (who was coming from Constantinople) crossed the Po on his journey, and in any case the *urbs* must be Milan, since Claudian goes on to describe Theodosius' death there immediately after Honorius' arrival. It is beyond dispute that Theodosius died in Milan.

More to the point is the passage of John of Antioch which Grumel adduced. John states that after the death of Eugenius and Arbogast θρίαμβοι κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐγένοντο. A triumph could hardly have been held without the triumphator, and no one but the Emperor would have been allowed to hold one. So this passage may be taken as implying that Theodosius held a triumph in Rome. Not that John is really of any

[20] *Moneta Mediolanensis* (1949) 148 n. 5.
[21] *Late Roman Bronze Coinage* (1960) 62.
[22] *Rev. Ét. Byz.* 9 (1951) 24 n. 3.

independent value as a source. For he, like Zosimus, was drawing on
Eunapius.[23] Nevertheless, his agreement with Zosimus on this point
does suggest that it goes back to Eunapius. That is to say, Zosimus'
account cannot be dismissed as a mere Zosiman confusion. It has the
authority of Eunapius. Not that Eunapius is a very reassuring authority,
but he was at least a contemporary.

But is Eunapius the *only* source Zosimus had for Theodosius' visit?
Undoubtedly he was the source of Zosimus 4.59, but who was the source
for 5.38, where Zosimus records Serena's profanation of the statue of
the Magna Mater during Theodosius' stay? Since the event is recorded
under the year 410, the natural assumption is Olympiodorus; for, when
he reached 404, where Eunapius broke off, Zosimus turned to Olym-
piodorus, who took up the story at 407. Mendelssohn however, in his
note *ad loc.*, writes "non ex Olympiodoro sed ex Eunapio fluxisse puto";
his reasons are (1) that the event described happened before Olympio-
dorus' history started, and (2) that Olympiodorus was far too sensible
to be taken in by "incertissimam illam de Theodosii itinere Romano
famam." Hardly compelling. In 5.38 Zosimus is recording how the
senate ordered Serena's execution by strangling during the siege by
Alaric in 410. The "flashback" to 394 is designed to explain why the
senate hated her, and how they blamed the evils which had befallen
them on the sacrilege she had committed then. Is it likely that Olym-
piodorus described her execution without explaining the reason? The
one loses all its significance without the other. Nor, from what we know
of Zosimus' method of composition, is it likely that he would have
supplemented his primary source in this way. The natural assumption,
again, is that the *whole* of Zosimus 5.38 is drawn from Olympiodorus.
Thus the account of Theodosius' visit to Rome which for us is represented
only in the scrappy pages of Zosimus may well in fact have the authority
not only of Eunapius, but of a far more accurate and reliable historian,
Olympiodorus of Thebes.

Lastly, another neglected text. Theophanes s.a. 394 (A.M. 5886) states
that

μετὰ τὴν Εὐγενίου τοῦ τυράννου ἀναίρεσιν, καὶ τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων
κατάστασιν, ἀπῆρεν ἀπὸ ῾Ρώμης ὁ εὐσεβὴς βασιλεὺς Θεοδόσιος, καὶ
ἤρχετο ἐπὶ Κωνσταντινουπόλιν.

[23] On John's sources see the works cited by G. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* I [2]
(1958), 313–315. In Appendix C to my forthcoming book on Claudian, I have
attempted to show that John's account of the events of the following year, 395,
derives directly from Eunapius.

For the fourth century, Theophanes' information derives almost entirely from Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret, or rather from an epitome of all three combined made c. 530 by Theodore Lector.[24] Yet this particular detail does not come from any of the three (though the account of Theodosius' death at Milan which immediately follows comes from Socrates). Thus its credentials are unknown — though not necessarily non-existent. What is both interesting and important about Theophanes' evidence is that he alone of our sources records *two* visits to Rome. S.a. 389 (A.M. 5881) he describes how on 9 June of that year Theodosius entered Rome together with Honorius. Once more this does not come from Socrates, Sozomen, or Theodoret. Yet there is no reason to question it. Indeed Theophanes goes on to say that it was on this occasion that Theodosius created Honorius Caesar — an authentic piece of information not directly preserved elsewhere.[25] Of course it might be argued that Theophanes (or Theodore) simply took over the 394 visit from Zosimus/Eunapius. But there is no evidence that either used Zosimus or Eunapius: and if they did, we should have to posit another source as well for the accurate information about the 389 visit

---

[24] See the preface to de Boor's edition, I (1883) viii.

[25] What Theophanes actually says is ἐκάθισεν βασιλέα, which on the face of it means "created Augustus," which would certainly be false. But no one has yet brought into connection with this passage Claudian, *VI Cons. Hon.* 65–68, where, addressing Honorius, the poet claims that during the 389 visit "teque rudem vitae, quamvis diademate necdum / cingebare comas, *socium sumebat honorum* [sc. Theodosius] / purpureum fotum gremio, parvumque triumphis / imbuit . . ." Commentators *ad loc.* simply observe that Honorius was made Augustus in 393, not 389. True enough, but irrelevant. It is difficult to believe that, in a panegyric addressed to the Emperor, Claudian made a mistake about such a point. Nor is he looking forward five years, but describing what happened in Rome in 389. The key is provided by another passage in Claudian, *IV Cons. Hon.* 169–170: Claudian is describing the tender age at which Honorius was raised to the purple: "nec dilatus honos; mutatur principe *Caesar* [i.e. 'already Caesar, you were promoted to be Augustus']: / protinus aequaris fratri [made equal to Arcadius, who had been Augustus since 383]." So there was a stage when Honorius was merely Caesar. Obviously, then, when Theodosius "socium sumebat honorum" Honorius in 389, he was creating him Caesar: it had been standard practice since the Tetrarchs for an heir to the throne to be created Caesar a few years before he was raised to the purple itself as Augustus. And, since Theodosius had gone to all the trouble of summoning Honorius specially from Constantinople for his triumphal entry into Rome, he must surely have intended to parade him in just some such way as future Emperor of the West. Theophanes' error consists only in confusing the titles Caesar and Augustus. And so far from this detail being an error which condemns him, it shows instead that he had access to reliable information, not otherwise available to us, beyond what came to him from the ecclesiastical trio.

(which Zosimus/Eunapius omit altogether). It would be both more economical and more probable to assume only one subsidiary source: and this is likely to have been a Christian chronicle, probably Panodorus or Annianus, both of whom wrote within a decade or two of Theodosius' death — and were the major source of Syncellus, Theophanes' friend and author of a chronicle of which Theophanes' was a continuation. Naturally a ninth-century chronicler like Theophanes must be used with caution for the fourth century, but his information cannot be shown to derive from any of our other sources and may be independent of them. If it is independent, then we should have to suppose that Theophanes too made a mistake — and a different sort of mistake this time: duplication instead of misplacing.

Thus a variety of sources, of widely differing standpoints, date, and authority, attest a visit paid to Rome by Theodosius in 394. And, though each individual piece of evidence, when taken by itself, can be explained otherwise (though in some cases not without a degree of special pleading), their combined effect ought not lightly to be dismissed. I would not go so far as to claim that it is decisive. The predominance of later Eastern over contemporary Western sources [26] is perhaps a little disquieting. For (it might be argued) an Eastern writer relatively ignorant of Western affairs might simply have assumed that any Emperor visiting the West would pay a call on Rome, the traditional and eponymous capital of the Empire. This might apply to Theophanes, or to Theodoret — but scarcely to the shrewd and experienced Olympiodorus, who had resided for some while in the West, and will certainly have known that even Western Emperors visited Rome but seldom. And it would surely be a remarkable coincidence if all four of the Eastern writers in question had made precisely the same false assumption.

It has been suggested to me that one might have expected Claudian to mention the visit in his panegyric on the consulate of Olybrius and Probinus, recited early in January 395, less than three months after it had taken place (if it did take place). Instead Claudian represents the goddess Roma flying to the field of the Frigidus, to beg Theodosius to appoint the two youths consuls while he was perspiring from the battle. Yet I think it would be wrong to infer that Claudian made Roma visit Theodosius because Theodosius did not visit Roma. It might be different if he had made her visit Theodosius at court in Milan. As it is,

---

[26] The absence of imperial constitutions issued from Rome would be explained if, as seems in any case certain, the visit was of very short duration.

dramatic considerations alone explain his choice of site: Theodosius
exultant in his hour of victory, still on the field of battle — and his first
thought is to appoint Olybrius and Probinus consuls for the following
year. As I have emphasised elsewhere,[27] the poem is devoted exclusively
to the praises of the two consuls and their noble family: Theodosius is
introduced at all solely in order that their praises should be sung by
no less a person than the Emperor himself. Claudian shows no interest
(as yet) in either Theodosius or his recent achievements for their own
sake. Thus he would have had no call to mention the visit to Rome,
since it had no direct relevance to his patrons. For this reason, it is no
argument against a 394 visit that Claudian does happen to mention the
389 visit in a later poem (*VI Cons. Hon.* 422f). For he only did so there
because it *was* directly relevant to the subject of his poem, on this
occasion Honorius' visit to Rome in 404. Naturally enough he referred
back to Honorius' only other visit to the eternal city — with Theodosius
in 389.

There is one other passage of Claudian which must be taken more
seriously. Indeed, it has often been held decisive against a 394 visit. In
his poem on the sixth consulate of Honorius (lines 392f) Claudian
asserts (writing in 404) that Rome has been visited by an Emperor (before
the present visit by Honorius which he is describing) only three times
in the last hundred years, on each occasion after the suppression of a
civil war:

> His annis, qui lustra mihi bis dena recensent,
> nostra ter Augustos intra pomeria vidi,
> temporibus variis; eadem sed causa tropaei
> civilis dissensus erat. venere superbi,
> scilicet ut Latio respersos sanguine currus
> adspicerem [*Roma is speaking*].

The first of these visits must be that of Constantine in 312, after his
victory over Maxentius. The second candidate is that of Constantius
in 357 after his victory over Magnentius. And then we are left with only
one for Theodosius,[28] and since (as we have just seen) Claudian actually

---

[27] See chap. 2 of my book on Claudian.

[28] And certainly none for Gratian. Yet Seeck, *Briefe des Libanius* (1906) 303,
claimed that Gratian visited Rome in 376 to celebrate his Decennalia, a sugges-
tion repeated with emphasis by A. Alföldi (*A Conflict of Ideas in the Late
Roman Empire* [1952] 90, "Gratian seized the first opportunity to visit the eternal
city"), and further exploited by A. Demandt, *Zeitkritik und Geschichtsbild im
Werk Ammians* (1965) 68. There is no direct evidence for this visit, and in view
of the difficulties involved in accommodating four imperial visits, it is hardly

alludes in this very same poem to the 389 visit, Ensslin and many others have felt that a second visit by Theodosius was implicitly ruled out. Yet how far can we trust Claudian's knowledge of fourth-century history? Like so many of his contemporaries, Claudian was more at home among the heroes of early Republican days than in his own century. Might he not, whether through ignorance or temporary absence of mind, have overlooked one out of four imperial visits? For example (admittedly not an altogether parallel example), at the end of his panegyric on Olybrius and Probinus Claudian announces with great emphasis that this is the very first time that two brothers have held the consulate together. Yet the preceding year, less than a week dead when Claudian declaimed these words, had seen the consulate of two brothers — Arcadius and Honorius. And if it be claimed that in Claudian's eyes Emperors did not count, we still only have to go back to 359, when Flavius Hypatius and Flavius Eusebius, indisputably natural brothers (as contemporaries observed), held the *fasces* together.[29] Both may still have been alive when Claudian wrote this poem. It is obvious that it never occurred to Claudian to check the accuracy of his statement.

Since the 394 visit can only have been very brief (see below) and was not commemorated by spectacular monuments like the arch of Constantine or the obelisk of Constantius, it is not outrageous to suggest that a poet writing ten years later might have overlooked it[30] (Claudian himself probably did not arrive in Rome till after Theodosius would have left[31]).

---

possible even to consider a fifth. In fact it seems likely that Gratian spent the year at Trier (so Mommsen, edition of *Cod. Theod.* 1.1 [1904] CCLIII–CCLIV). Moreover it would be very strange if Ammian had failed to mention an event of such significance as Alföldi, for example, attributes to it.

[29] On the pair, see A. Chastagnol, *Fastes de la préfecture de Rome au Bas-Empire* (1962) 204.

[30] So Piganiol thought (*L'Emp. chrétien*, 268 n. 124), while upholding the historicity of the visit.

[31] Claudian must have arrived in Rome by the end of 394, when he wrote his panegyric for the Anicii, performed in January 395. But it is difficult to believe that he would have chosen to arrive in Rome *before* the Frigidus, when it was in the hands of a usurper whom he must have known Theodosius had for some while been planning to suppress. For, engaged as he was in so public and compromising a profession as that of panegyrist, he might have been asked to hymn Eugenius, Arbogast, or Flavian, and risk death if they lost to Theodosius. I hope to have shown, in *Athenaeum* 44 (1966) 39–40, that the common view that Claudian arrived in the suite of Theodosius is untenable. So presumably he arrived as soon as he had heard that the war was now over, towards the end of 394.

If it was Constantius' visit which Claudian overlooked, a curious feature of his phraseology would be explained. It has been claimed that the words "ter Augustos . . . vidi" imply three different Emperors, rather than two Emperors, one of whom (i.e. Theodosius) paid two visits. Naturally, it is impossible to make a firm pronouncement about such a point, but to me at least the phraseology seems in fact to point the other way. If Claudian had meant to imply three different Emperors (i.e. Constantine, Constantius, and Theodosius — once each), he could easily have said so outright (e.g. "tres nostra Augustos," which would have fitted the metre just as well), instead of the less obvious "nostra ter Augustos." But suppose he had wanted to refer to the three visits Constantine and Theodosius had paid between them. It would have been intolerably clumsy, and would have spoilt the allusiveness of his reference, to have made Roma say: "Only two Emperors have visited me (though one of them twice) in the last 100 years." But the conveniently vague expression he does use covers the situation nicely: a neat and brief way of making it clear that there had been three imperial visits, without necessarily implying that they were made by three different Emperors.

But I do not wish to appear to be resorting to special pleading. I would merely suggest that, while what Claudian says is of the very highest value when he is writing of the contemporary political situation,[32] it would be rash to prefer unquestioningly the negative implications of a sweeping statement by a poet much given to wild and inaccurate statements, to the positive and converging testimony of half a dozen writers, half of them (Eunapius, Olympiodorus, Prudentius) contemporaries no less than Claudian.

So, while it is still hardly possible to affirm with complete confidence that Theodosius did visit Rome in 394, there does not seem any convincing reason to deny it. And what more natural than that he should have done so? For many of Eugenius' most influential supporters had come from the pagan senatorial circles of Rome. Indeed, whether or not Eugenius himself wished it, his bid for the purple came to take on the character of a pagan crusade. The rebel army had marched out to battle with Jupiter and Hercules on its standards, sped on its way with all the traditional pomp of divination and augury in Rome.[33] Despite

[32] Of more value, indeed, than has hitherto been realised: see my forthcoming book, passim.
[33] Bloch (above, n. 7) 228ff.

Gratian's attack on the privileges of the pagan aristocracy, during his visit of 389 Theodosius had attempted to conciliate and even conferred high honours on them. Yet these men, whose paganism he had once been prepared to tolerate, had now formed a nucleus of not only religious but political opposition. So it was only natural, indeed essential, that he should take steps to forestall the possibility of a repetition of any such opposition from the pagan elements in Rome. But Theodosius was far too shrewd to antagonise more than could be helped these enormously wealthy landowners whose cooperation with the imperial government was indispensable for the administration of Italy.[34] So, without going so far as to force Christianity on them, he indicated that there was still a place in the running of the Empire for the Roman aristocracy — but *only* if they abandoned their paganism. And the appeal to the senate which Zosimus and Prudentius record, each from his different point of view, fits exactly into just this context. This statesmanlike policy of a free pardon tempered only by an exhortation to accept Christianity is reflected also in St. Augustine's account of Theodosius' treatment of the aristocracy after the Frigidus (with particular reference to the son of Flavianus): "Inimicorum suorum filios, quos, non ipsius iussu, belli abstulerat impetus, etiam nondum Christianos ad ecclesiam confugientes, Christianos hac occasione fieri voluit et Christiana caritate dilexit, nec privavit rebus et auxit honoribus"[35] (*De Civ. Dei* 5.26). And as a token of this new pattern for the future he designated as consuls for the following year two members of the Anicii, one of the oldest senatorial families in Rome — but a family which had been Christian for a generation.

III

If the historicity of Theodosius' visit in 394 can be accepted, there is no reason a priori to reject out of hand the various events which Zosimus places during this visit. There is only one point on which he can be shown to be mistaken. Honorius did *not* accompany Theodosius to Rome on this occasion. On this point the evidence of Claudian is decisive.[36] Moreover, Theodosius' visit must have taken place almost immediately after the battle at the Frigidus, when Honorius was still far away in Constantinople.

[34] On this factor, see my remarks in *JRS* 55 (1965) 241.

[35] Claudian too stresses the clemency Theodosius showed after the Frigidus: "non insultare iacenti / malebat..." (*IV Cons.* 111f). Compare also Theodosius' attitude to the elder Flavian, discussed above.

[36] At *VI Cons.* 422f he states that Honorius' visit to Rome in 404 was only his second; the first must be that of 389.

Apart from general grounds of probability, there is one clear reason for dating the visit as early as possible. We have seen that Serena accompanied Theodosius. Yet it was Serena who brought Honorius from Constantinople.[37] So Theodosius must have sent her to fetch him. The round trip cannot have taken much less than two months, and probably more, if we allow a brief stay in Constantinople to prepare for the return journey.[38] And we must allow another month or so for Theodosius' journey from the Frigidus to Rome, with a few days spent at Aquileia and Milan on the way.[39] Yet Honorius arrived in Milan well before Theodosius' death on January 17,[40] just over four months after his victory. This means that Theodosius' visit cannot be placed later than the beginning of October.

How then do we account for Zosimus' statement that Honorius was proclaimed Emperor in Rome? It may be that Zosimus (or already Eunapius) misunderstood a source which stated that Theodosius announced in Rome that Honorius was to be the future Emperor of the West and Stilico regent during his minority. Once he had despatched Serena to fetch Honorius, Theodosius must already have made his decision, and there would have been little point in keeping it secret till Honorius should arrive in person. Is it not more than likely that, while in Rome, he would have taken the opportunity of making public his intentions there (it will be remembered that it was during his first visit to Rome that Theodosius had created Honorius *Caesar*, as an earnest of his future intentions)? Nothing would have been gained by waiting, since for the time being Honorius was only to be nominal ruler when he did arrive, and it would obviously strengthen the position of Stilico, as yet unknown in the West,[41] for his regency to be publicly proclaimed in

[37] Cf. S. Mazzarino, *Stilicone* (1942) 103. Serena was the obvious person to send in any case, but it may be that Theodosius was finding her presence an embarrassment in Rome after the Magna Mater incident. Sceptics about the 394 visit will, of course, push back the Magna Mater incident to 389 and suppose that Serena was left behind in Constantinople with Honorius in 394, so that she will only have had to make the journey one way.

[38] For travelling times, cf. J. B. Bury, *Later Roman Empire* II² (1923) 225; A. M. Ramsay, *JRS* 15 (1925) 6off; A. H. M. Jones, *Later Roman Empire* I (1964) 402ff, III 91ff.

[39] Seeck, *Regesten*, p. 284.

[40] Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* 5.26.

[41] All of Symmachus' letters to Stilico postdate 394. One of them, 4.2, was put by Seeck in 382–383 (cf. his edition, p. CXL), but this is certainly wrong. Demougeot, *De l'unité* ... 135 n. 99, rightly observes that "le ton est trop flatteur pour le petit personnage qu'était Stilicon en 382," and places it in 389. I should have thought that the same objection still applied to 389, and would

Rome. It may be that Zosimus' error consists in no more than wrongly inferring that Honorius was himself present on this occasion. Alternatively, it may be that in this one detail Zosimus has confused the two visits,[42] and mistakenly transferred to 394 the creation of Honorius *Caesar* in 389. But whatever the source of his error, it does not seem to me sufficiently serious to warrant rejecting the other details of his account of Stilico's appointment to the regency of which it forms part.

IV

Having (I hope) established that the general framework of this chapter is essentially historical, we may now turn again to the section which deals with Stilico's regency.

Before doing so, however, it must be pointed out for the benefit of those who are still not convinced of the historicity of the visit of 394, that what follows does *not* stand or fall with it. We have seen already that the other details in Zosimus 4.59 indubitably belong in 394. The harangue of Theodosius, for example, though doubtless written up somewhat by Zosimus/Eunapius (as it was too, from the opposite point of view, by Prudentius) has a kernel of historical fact — and fact which

---

myself date it to 398. The letter commends the younger Flavian ("Flavianus filius meus") to Stilico, on the ground that "interest amoris, quem vere pignori meo debeo, ne, dum meritis illius nihil deese contemplor, officium parentis omittam." This laboured allusion to the paternal relationship in which Symmachus stood to Flavian would not be appropriate before 392–394, when Flavian married Symmachus' daughter (Seeck, LIII), thus becoming his son-in-law. Surely the letter belongs together with a whole batch of such letters which Symmachus wrote in 398/399 (4.39, 7.95, 4.6, 5.6, 8.102, 9.47; cf. 4.4, 8.93, 7.104, 8.29) in an attempt to secure Flavian's rehabilitation (he had been living in disgrace and retirement since his father's death). For confirmation we may turn to the letter from this bunch to Longinianus (7.95), which contains an exactly parallel laboured allusion to Symmachus' parental responsibilities: "partes parentis meus interventus exequitur, nec in dubium venit, quid habeat ponderis pignorum commendatio apud eum, qui suos diligit" (cf. also 9.47). Seeck and Demougeot were doubtless misled by the allusion in 4.2.1 to Flavian's having the benefit of "paternis suffragiis" (i.e. of the elder Flavian). But this need not mean that the elder Flavian († 394) was still alive at the time. Symmachus merely means that it was sufficient commendation of itself to be a son of the elder Flavian.

[42] It should be observed that a few chapters later Zosimus telescopes into one the two expeditions Stilico made to Greece in 395 and 397 respectively; I shall be arguing in Appendix C of my *Claudian* that this confusion was present already in Eunapius, and I attempt there to apportion Zosimus' narrative between the two expeditions. But if he has confused the two Roman visits, it is clear that this is the only detail which can come from the 389 visit.

belongs in 394. There can be no question of dismissing the whole chapter as fiction. What is possible — though, as I have attempted to show in the preceding pages, less than probable — is that Zosimus mistakenly localised in Rome what in fact happened in Milan. But the reasons why I believe that what Zosimus says about Stilico's regency in this chapter is in essentials true do not depend in any material details on the fact that he places it in Rome rather than Milan. It is merely one detail of the context: an important detail, certainly, but one which can if necessary be discarded without the collapse of the whole structure.

The most cogent reason for distinguishing between the settlement which Zosimus records during Theodosius' visit to Rome (henceforth the "Rome-settlement") and the settlement Theodosius is supposed to have made on his deathbed (the "deathbed-settlement"), the one which actually prevailed, is that Zosimus' own account of the "death-bed-settlement" is quite inconsistent with his account of the "Rome-settlement."

For at 4.59.1 Zosimus states quite plainly that Theodosius appointed Stilico στρατηγόν . . . τῶν αὐτόθι ταγμάτων. This can only mean *magister militum per Occidentem*, that is to say that Stilico's authority was to be limited to the Western armies. Yet after Theodosius' death Zosimus states, equally plainly, that Stilico was στρατηγός . . . τοῦ παντὸς στρατεύματος (5.4.2, only four pages later). And this is confirmed by Claudian's *In Rufinum* passim, and by the events of 395 as a whole (though see below).

Again, in 4.59.1 Zosimus says that Theodosius left Stilico as regent (ἐπίτροπον) τῷ παιδί: in the context this can only refer to Honorius — and to Honorius only. Yet elsewhere Zosimus knows perfectly well that, according to the settlement which prevailed, Theodosius left Stilico regent of *both* his sons (5.4.6, 5.34.10).

Most scholars ignore completely the implication of this passage (i.e. 4.59). Those who refer to it at all take it for granted that it is a garbled and erroneous allusion to the "deathbed-settlement."[43] Grumel,[44] for example, explains the second inconsistency by the hypothesis that Zosimus knew (of course) that Stilico claimed that Theodosius had made him regent of both his sons, but did not himself believe it. So when recording Theodosius' settlement in 4.59.1 he stated only what he believed to be true, viz. that Theodosius had only meant

[43] E.g. Demougeot, *De l'unité* . . . 100 n. 36; Straub, *La nouvelle Clio* 4 (1952) 98; J. H. E. Crees, *Claudian as a Historical Authority* (1908) 55 n. 1.
[44] *Rev. Ét. Byz.* 9 (1951) 25 n. 9.

Honorius. This is a possible (though unlikely) explanation of the second inconsistency, but it does not explain the first.

The simplest explanation of both is that Zosimus is not here writing of the "deathbed-settlement" at all, but — as after all he purports to be — of an earlier settlement made in Rome about three months before Theodosius died. And in all probability before Theodosius himself had realised that he was dying. For confirmation of this we may turn to the last sentence of Zosimus 4.59:

ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Θεοδόσιος τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἔθνη, καὶ Ἴβηρας καὶ Κελτοὺς καὶ προσέτι Λιβύην ἅπασαν Ὁνωρίῳ τῷ παιδὶ παραδούς, αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν ἐπανιὼν ἐτελεύτησε νόσῳ, καὶ τὸ τούτου σῶμα ταριχευθὲν τοῖς ἐν τῇ Κωνσταντινουπόλει βασιλικοῖς τάφοις ἐναπετέθη.

Once more, it seems, we must convict Zosimus of error: but not of an error serious enough to discredit the passage completely — its usual fate. For Theodosius indisputably died at Milan. Crees cites this passage as a typical instance of Zosimus' inaccuracy: for, he claims, Zosimus states that Theodosius died in Constantinople.[45] But if we examine the passage more closely, we find that Zosimus does not at all state that Theodosius died *in* Constantinople, but *on the way to* Constantinople (εἰς τὴν Κ. ἐπανιών); and his allusion to Theodosius' body being embalmed suggests that he knew perfectly well that some considerable time elapsed before the emperor was finally laid to rest in Constantinople (he died on January 17 and was not buried till November 9!). I suggest that Zosimus has compressed — and distorted in the process — a statement in his source to the effect that Theodosius had been on the point of leaving for Constantinople, or was intending or preparing to leave when he was taken ill and died. But whatever the cause of his error, Zosimus was plainly under the impression that Theodosius had at one time at any rate intended to return to the East. Compare once more his statement that Theodosius proclaimed Honorius emperor, Στελίχωνα . . . ἐπίτροπον καταλιπών. Theodosius "left Stilico behind as regent" — again the implication is plainly that Theodosius himself was planning to return,[46] as Mendelssohn observes in his note *ad loc.*, "dictum quasi Theodosius in Occidente Honorium cum Stilicone relicturus fuerit, ipse Cplim

[45] Crees (above, n. 43) 52 n. 2.
[46] According to Theophanes too (A.M. 5886) Theodosius left Rome for Constantinople, falling ill at Milan on the way.

reversurus." But the manner in which Mendelssohn couches his note shows that he thought the notion absurd — as have most other scholars.

Yet there is every reason for believing that Theodosius would, health permitting, have wished to return to the East. Grumel suggests that if Theodosius had lived he would probably have stayed in Italy "pour gouverner directement à la place d'Honorius, encore trop jeune."[47] Ideally, no doubt, Theodosius would have liked to do this. But the peaceful state in which he had left the Eastern Empire only a few months before had been shattered in his absence, and the situation there now called for his immediate attention. Savage hordes of Huns had burst across the Danube into Thrace and over the Caucasus down into Syria. The Marcomanni were laying waste Pannonia right down as far as the Adriatic coast. And, not least, the disgruntled Visigothic chieftain Alaric had led his men out of the provinces allotted them by Theodosius, to terrorise and plunder the Balkans.[48] The situation in the West, on the other hand, seemed on the face of it peaceable enough. Theodosius could not have foreseen that Gildo, the count of Africa, would withdraw his allegiance from Honorius (nor in all probability would he have done so had Theodosius lived), and in 395 Alaric was a danger to the East, not the West. Under these circumstances it is hard to believe that Theodosius intended to stay in the West longer than was absolutely necessary. We may well suppose that he would have liked to leave as soon as Honorius arrived, had his health allowed. And if he *had* been intending to return to the East, then he must have made provisions for the administration of the West in his absence. So Zosimus' statement that he appointed Stilico regent immediately after his victory over Eugenius may not be so absurd as is usually supposed. And this is also why he only appointed Stilico *magister militum per Occidentem.* Stilico was to have military authority in the West only, because Theodosius was intending to continue commanding in the East himself.

There is one further detail which supports my contention that Zosimus 4.59 is not just a hotchpotch of careless mistakes — still less sheer fiction. The list Zosimus gives of the territory Theodosius assigned to Honorius comprises Italy, Spain, Gaul, and Africa. This has been cited as yet another error. For within a year or less of Theodosius' death

---

[47] Grumel (above, n. 44) 24.
[48] Cf. Stein, *Bas-Empire* I 228, Demougeot, *De l'unité . . .* 116–117. These incursions are vividly depicted by Claudian, *In Ruf.* 2.26ff,

the Western provinces of Illyricum were undoubtedly ruled by Honorius. And it is often supposed that these provinces formed part of Honorius' share at Theodosius' death: indeed that Honorius then ruled *all* Illyricum but ceded the Eastern provinces to Arcadius in 395 or early 396. But Grumel has now conclusively demonstrated that this view is mistaken and that at Theodosius' death the whole of Illyricum belonged — as Zosimus by not including it among Honorius' dominions implies — to Arcadius.[49] The explanation of the undoubted fact that Honorius is found in control of Western Illyricum by 396 must be that Stilico had persuaded the Eastern government to cede these provinces.[50] The decisive text is Claudian, *In Rufinum* 2.153–154: "regit Italiam [sc. Stilico], Libyamque coercet; Hispanis Gallisque iubet." This comes from a speech by Rufinus, who is making the point that Stilico controls quite enough of the empire already, and so should not be encroaching on Arcadius' share. Therefore his list is *exhaustive*: had Stilico controlled in addition only W. Illyricum, let alone E. Illyricum as well (the whole of the Balkan peninsula), an area as large as Gaul and Italy together, then Claudian could not have failed to add it to Rufinus' list. *In Ruf.* 2.301–307 merely confirms this inference: its clear implication is that the nearest Stilico could get to Constantinople in 395 without crossing into Arcadius' territory was the boundary of Italy.[51] And John of Antioch states quite explicitly that in 395 Greece was μηδὲν προσήκουσαν τοῖς τῆς ἑσπερίας τέρμασι (frag. 190.2, *FHG* IV 610). It should be observed that, as John and Zosimus agree on this point, it presumably goes back to their common source, Eunapius, and cannot therefore be dismissed as a characteristic Zosiman confusion.

Moreover, the detail προσέτι γε Λιβύην ἅπασαν, implying that the inclusion of *all* of Africa among Honorius' dominions was more than might have been expected, again suggests that Zosimus (or rather Eunapius) knew what he was talking about. For in 391, when Theodosius made a similar settlement of the Western Empire after recovering it from Maximus and restoring it to another minor, Valentinian II, he assigned to Valentinian only Gaul, Spain, and Italy, keeping both

[49] Grumel (above, n. 44) 18ff, with full bibliography of the extensive earlier literature.

[50] That for a short period after Rufinus' fall Eutropius "worked in concert with Stilico in all matters" is attested by Zosimus (5.8.1), and confirmed by Claudian (*In Eutr.* 2.543f).

[51] Mazzarino, *Stilicone*, pp. 63ff, has conclusively refuted Mommsen's widely held view that Stilico's principal goal from 395 on was to gain control of E. Illyricum.

Illyricum and Africa under his own direct control.[52] So Zosimus
preserves an informed comment on the greater generosity Theodosius
displayed in 394. Once again then it seems that Zosimus is faithfully
representing the settlement Theodosius had originally intended, not the
later settlement which came into being under the regime of Stilico.

<div align="center">V</div>

To recapitulate, there are four details in this chapter of Zosimus
which, because hitherto taken as allusions to Theodosius' "deathbed-
settlement," have individually and for various reasons been dismissed
out of hand as errors. (a) The appointment of Stilico to the command
of the Western forces only. (b) His appointment as regent of Honorius
only. (c) The allotment to Honorius of only Gaul, Spain, Italy, and
Africa. (d) The view that Theodosius had been intending to return to
the East when he died. But, taken together, these four points reveal a
remarkably coherent and self-consistent picture of an earlier and
different settlement.

It may be wondered why it is that scholars have been so reluctant to
recognise this earlier settlement. The reason is that they have been be-
witched by the schematic and improving picture of Theodosius' last
days presented by the ecclesiastical historians. Rufinus, Socrates,
Sozomen, Theodoret, Philostorgius — all of them either state or imply
that immediately after his victory in September Theodosius fell ill and
soon died. Sozomen says Theodosius knew that he would never recover,
for he had received a prophecy before he set out against Eugenius that
he would defeat Eugenius but die in Italy himself (7.29). The impres-
sion conveyed by their accounts is that Theodosius died only a matter of
weeks, not four months, after his victory. And they are not in the least
interested in the grave political implications of Theodosius' death. Not
one of them so much as mentions Stilico or the regency. For Philo-
storgius (11.3) "having gained fame by his victories, having obtained
the crown of the entire Roman empire, and having seen his two sons
raised to the imperial dignity, which he left to them firmly secured and
free from conspiracy, he died upon his own bed the happiest of deaths,
obtaining, as it seems to me, this reward for the burning zeal which he
nurtured against idolatry." Claudian shows a better appreciation of the

---

[52] Grumel (above, n. 44) 18. Was it perhaps with this precedent in mind that
Eutropius later tried to transfer Africa from the *pars* of Honorius to that of
Arcadius by fomenting the revolt of Gildo?

reality of the crisis Theodosius left behind him when he makes him exclaim (*Gild.* 293):

> Res incompositas, fateor, tumidasque reliqui.

It may be wondered whether Theodosius himself shared Philostorgius' complacent enthusiasm about the future of an empire entrusted to his feeble sons.

In the eyes of the ecclesiastical historians, Theodosius sent for Honorius because he knew he was dying. On my view he sent for Honorius *before* he knew he was dying and in the belief that he was shortly going to return to deal with the serious Eastern situation. But the ecclesiastical historians, interested only in Theodosius' glorious death in the hour of a victory won in defence of the true faith, pass over his earlier, unfulfilled, intentions — just as they even pass over his final intentions concerning the regency. And, following in their footsteps, modern historians have likewise assumed that Theodosius spent the last four months of his life slowly dying in Milan.

It is hardly surprising that only Zosimus records this earlier regency. Since Theodosius never left Italy, Stilico never had a chance of exercising it, and what mattered was the new significance Stilico's position took on at Theodosius' death. Zosimus (Eunapius) alone of our sources attempted to offer a detailed connected narrative of the events of 394; the others omitted what in retrospect seemed a detail of no importance. Nor is it surprising that Claudian should ignore the earlier regency, though of course he has much to say about the double regency. Claudian's brief, writing as he was after Thcodosius' death, was to publicise Stilico's claim to the double regency. There was no point in harking back to the regency over Honorius alone which everybody knew about. But it was worth observing that in 404, when Stilico had virtually abandoned all hope of exercising his claim to the regency of the then 27-year-old Arcadius, Claudian writes (*VI Cons. Hon.* 581–583), addressing Stilico:

> illumque diem sub corde referres,
> quo tibi confusa dubiis formidine rebus
> infantem genitor moriens commisit alendum.

It may be of no particular significance that Claudian now writes of only Honorius being entrusted to Stilico. But, in view of the care with which he had always linked the names of the two Augusti in such contexts in

his earlier poems, it is suggestive that he no longer takes the trouble to include Arcadius. And it may be that on this occasion he is referring to the earlier regency, over Honorius alone.

My own reconstruction of these last four months would be as follows. After his victory of September 6, Theodosius spent a few days at Aquileia and Milan, and then set out to reestablish his authority — and that of Christ — in Rome. While there he heard disquieting reports from the East about the Hunnic and Marcoman invasions and determined to return and deal with them as soon as he could conveniently leave the West. Naturally, however, he could not leave the West for an indefinite period without a ruler. Inevitably the nominal ruler had to be Honorius — this had been decided long since — but clearly for the time being a regent was called for. And Stilico, an able, if not outstanding, soldier connected by marriage with the Imperial family, had the ideal qualifications. Moreover, as the son of a Vandal, he could never aspire to the purple himself, and Theodosius knew him for a loyal and devoted servant who would never use Honorius as a puppet for his own ends, as Arbogast had Valentinian II. So he announced his decision in Rome, sent Serena off to fetch Honorius, and gave Stilico supreme military authority in the provinces he had assigned to Honorius. Then, after an attempt to convert the Roman aristocracy to Christianity (which was probably not so unsuccessful as Zosimus makes out), he returned to Milan and fell ill. Not long after Serena arrived back from Constantinople with Honorius he died.

VI

But did he make any fresh settlement before he died, and, if so, what? According to most of our ancient sources — and most modern historians too — he made Stilico regent of Arcadius and commander in chief of the Eastern armies as well. But this is not the impression conveyed by St. Ambrose's funeral oration on Theodosius, delivered only forty days after the Emperor's death, where we read that: "gloriosius quoque in eo Theodosius, qui non communi iure testatus est; de filiis enim nihil habebat novum quod conderet, quibus totum dederat, nisi ut eos praesenti commendaret parenti" (*De Ob. Theod.* 5). The *parens* can only be Stilico, and this passage is always regarded as a clear and indisputable allusion to Stilico's double regency. But Ambrose's whole point is that Theodosius had made *no* new provisions concerning his sons. The casual afterthought "except to entrust them to Stilico" can hardly be stretched to cover so far-reaching an amendment of his

original intentions as the extension to Arcadius of the regency Stilico already exercised for Honorius — that is to say the granting to Stilico of *de facto* rule over the whole Empire instead of only half.

In fact this double regency is far more dubious than most historians have been prepared to admit. In order to get at the truth we must for the moment disregard the evidence of all our sources except Claudian. In January 396 Claudian recited a panegyric on the third consulate of Honorius in which he presents with great care Stilico's claim to the double regency in the form of a speech delivered by Theodosius to Stilico as he lay dying:

> tu curis succede meis, tu pignora solus
> nostra fove: *geminos* dextra tu protege fratres . . .

But more significant than the speech itself are the two lines which introduce it:

> ut ventum ad sedes, cunctos discedere tectis
> dux iubet, et generum compellat talibus ultro.[53]

That is to say no one but Stilico was present when Theodosius was alleged to have made this speech. Now it is inconceivable that Theodosius should have *deliberately* confided such a momentous decision to Stilico alone. The best that could be said for Stilico's claim is that Theodosius told Stilico in private of his wishes but died before he could make them public. But Claudian does not say this. He represents Theodosius as deliberately dismissing all possible witnesses, Honorius himself evidently included. Why? The only possible explanation is that he was making a virtue of necessity. Every single person in Claudian's audience knew that there had been no witness but Stilico to what Theodosius was supposed to have said. Had Claudian represented Theodosius as making this speech in open court, or even in front of Honorius, he would have been discredited at once. Everyone would know he was lying. So he made the best of the uncomfortable but undeniable truth, and implied (without giving it) that Theodosius had a perfectly good reason for not wanting any witnesses. Now Claudian, as is abundantly clear from all his subsequent poems, was Stilico's official propagandist and public relations officer.[54] If then Claudian of all sources, writing within a year

---

[53] *III Cons. Hon.* 152ff, 142ff.

[54] I shall be discussing Claudian's propagandist activity elsewhere, but meanwhile cf. the excellent brief remarks in Mazzarino, *Stilicone*, 91f, and N. H. Baynes, *Byzantine Studies* (1955) 332ff.

of the event, is obliged to make the damaging admission that the double regency rested on Stilico's word alone, then there is no point in weighing the evidence of later writers. What they say depends ultimately on whether or not they believed Stilico.

And, if we turn back once more to Zosimus, it will be found that once more he is recording the situation more faithfully than he is generally given credit for. At 4.59.1 he had described Stilico's appointment to the regency over Honorius, at 5.4.1 he refers to Stilico as 'exercising it (Στελίχων δὲ τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἑσπέραν βασιλείας ἐπιτροπεύων). Then at 5.4.3 he mentions for the first time Stilico's Eastern pretensions, adding: ἔλεγε γὰρ ἐπιτετράφθαι παρὰ Θεοδοσίου τελευτᾶν μέλλοντος τὰ κατ' ἄμφω τοὺς βασιλέας ἔχειν ἐν πάσῃ φροντίδι. Evidently in Zosimus' eyes there was no doubt at all about the Western regency, but the Eastern regency was another matter altogether, resting on the word of Stilico alone. But the most striking parallelism of all is the phrase τελευτᾶν μέλλοντος. What more accurate description could one wish of precisely the scene described by Claudian?

There is no need to deny that as he lay dying Theodosius said to Stilico something to the general effect: "Look after my sons for me." A perfectly natural request for a dying man to make to his only male relative. But it is more than doubtful whether he either intended or envisaged that Stilico would turn such a request into a formal appointment as regent. Mommsen long ago pointed out that there could in any event be no question of Stilico's being appointed legal guardian of either emperor.[55] Both had already been crowned Augusti, and there were no provisions in constitutional law for a period of minority during which an Augustus could not rule in his own right. In practice, of course, Theodosius must have intended that Stilico should rule for Honorius, until it was decided (presumably by Theodosius) that he was old enough to take his own decisions. It was a purely informal arrangement, and even so it is difficult to believe that Theodosius really proposed to give Stilico a free hand. But is it really conceivable that Theodosius would have instructed Stilico to rule in this way for Arcadius, eighteen already, and Augustus for eleven years? Yet it is precisely this sort of *tutela* which Stilico laid claim to. Cf. Claudian, *De Nupt. Hon.* 307f:

> .   [Stilico] dignus cui leges, dignus cui pignora tanti
> principis, et *rerum commendarentur habenae.*

[55] *Hermes* 38 (1903) 101ff (one of Mommsen's very last publications: he died on 1 November of that year) = *Hist. Schriften* I (*Ges. Schr.* IV) 516ff.

And *In Ruf.* 2.4-6:

> Iamque tuis, Stilico, Romana potentia curis
> et *rerum commissus apex*, tibi credita fratrum
> utraque maiestas geminaeque exercitus aulae.

In civil law *tutela* ceased at the age of fourteen. If Arcadius was not old enough to rule in his own right at eighteen, when would he be? And, perhaps more important, who was going to decide? I cannot believe that Theodosius would have left matters like this. He doubtless hoped that Stilico would give Arcadius informally the benefit of his advice and experience, but he cannot possibly have intended to put any restrictions whatever on the full sovereignty of the eighteen-year-old senior Augustus. Indeed, I should have thought it more than doubtful that he ever intended Stilico to rule absolutely in Honorius' name even till Honorius reached the age of fourteen — much less till he was twenty-four!

According to Claudian, Stilico was entrusted with *geminae exercitus aulae*, that is to say the Eastern as well as the Western armies. How true is this? It is certainly true that on Theodosius' death Stilico assumed command of the Eastern troops still stationed in the West (in effect all the Eastern army) as well as the Western troops with whose command he had already been entrusted by Theodosius. Yet it is equally clear both from Claudian and John of Antioch [56] (i.e. Eunapius) that when Stilico marched into Greece at the head of both armies he was definitely exceeding his authority. The outcome of both Stilico's Greek expeditions is notoriously shrouded in mystery: partly owing to the unhappy accident that Zosimus/Eunapius hopelessly confuse the two, partly because Claudian deliberately glossed over Stilico's double failure. Fortunately, for our immediate purpose the details are immaterial. What matters is that the official version of the 395 campaign, as represented in Claudian's *In Rufinum*, tendentious and indeed downright fiction that it is, nevertheless reveals by implication that Stilico could *not* really lay claim to the command of both armies. According to Claudian, Stilico had been on the point of delivering the *coup de grâce* to the cowering Goths when a letter arrived from Arcadius (extorted from him by the evil Rufinus) ordering Stilico to hold his hand, return the Eastern troops to Constantinople, and return to the West himself. Stilico obeyed at once. Modern scholars have in general been satisfied with the feeble explanation that Stilico obeyed because he was unwilling to disobey a

---

[56] See n. 42 above: this detail of John perhaps refers rather to the expedition of 397.

direct order from Arcadius, loyal subject of his Emperor that he was
— despite the facts (a) that he was supposed to be Arcadius' guardian,
not subject, (b) that the order was supposed to have been extracted
from Arcadius under duress anyway, and (c) that to obey meant, as
Stilico must have realised at the time, effectively abandoning the whole
of the Balkans to the Goths for an indefinite period. The man who
obeyed such an order under these circumstances was not a loyal subject
but a fool. And Stilico was no fool. Had Theodosius really invested
Stilico with formal command of the Eastern army, it is surely incon-
ceivable that Stilico should ever have relinquished it at the request of
the Emperor whose guardian he was supposed to be, and thereby de-
prive himself of the only means whereby he could possibly have hoped
either to exercise that regency or defend the Empire against the Goths.
The explanation of Stilico's conduct implicit in *In Rufinum* is that he
had no legal standing in the East. After Theodosius' death as before,
he was still only *magister militum per Occidentem*. It was in this capacity
(aided by the additional *auctoritas* his standing as unofficial regent of
Honorius gave him) that on Theodosius' death he provisionally took
command of the Eastern troops still stationed in the West, until
Arcadius' will became known.

Not that Stilico relinquished his pretensions to the regency of Arcadius
thereafter. On the contrary, Claudian continues to reaffirm them with
suspicious insistence in poem after poem for several years to come.
But it is significant that in no poem after the *In Rufinum* does he suggest
that Stilico any longer either possessed or claimed any military authority
in the East. And if Theodosius did not give Stilico any military authority
in the East, it is hard to believe that he intended him to be regent of the
East in any significant sense of the word — certainly not regent even
in the same sense as in the West.

I would suggest, therefore, that, when Ambrose said that Theodosius
made no new arrangement concerning his sons before he died, he was
speaking the simple truth. The situation at Theodosius' death was
exactly what it had been before he fell ill. Arcadius was Emperor of the
East, Honorius of the West. Stilico's powers also were no more and no
less than those which Theodosius had conferred on him some three
months earlier: command of all Western troops and *de facto* the power to
administer the Western Empire (i.e. at this stage Spain, Gaul, Italy,
and Africa) in Honorius' name. And when Ambrose added "nisi ut
eos praesenti commendaret parenti," he again meant what he said:
Theodosius had made no new settlement (such as making Stilico regent
of Arcadius certainly would have been), but merely "entrusted" his

sons to Stilico in very general terms. But Stilico seized upon this unspecified *commendatio* and insisted that the inclusion of *both* emperors meant that his regency over Honorius had now been extended to include Arcadius. And to back up this interpretation he claimed that Theodosius had definitely entrusted him with the double regency just before he died.

The realisation that Stilico was already acknowledged regent of Honorius well before Theodosius' final illness makes it much easier to understand both how it came about that Stilico dared to claim this double regency, and why, in some quarters at least, his claim was taken as seriously as it was. In modern times scholars have been reluctant to disbelieve it, principally because to do so has seemed hitherto to entail believing two even greater improbabilities:

(a) that Stilico was simply lying when he claimed such far-reaching powers for himself — an uncharacteristic act for such a loyal servant of the house of Theodosius;[57]

(b) that anyone would ever have believed such a lie at the time.

It is now possible to see that the issue is much less clear cut. Everyone knew that Stilico was regent of Honorius — regent in the sense that he had been empowered by Theodosius to administer the West at least temporarily in Honorius' name. And, to judge from Ambrose's funeral oration, it was also common knowledge that Theodosius had "entrusted" both his sons to Stilico.[58] The only question was, what had Theodosius meant by the word *commendo*? No one could deny that Stilico's interpretation was a possible one, and no one in the West, where Stilico's authority was assured already, had any cause to call him a liar. It was only the Eastern government which disputed Stilico's Eastern pretensions. Claudian's continued insistence on the double regency, in

---

[57] The loyalty of Stilico to Theodosius, to his policies, and even to his two unworthy sons has been well brought out by Mazzarino and Demougeot, in reaction to the excessively negative verdict of Seeck and Bury. It stood the ultimate test, when he submitted to the executioner's sword rather than raise the standard of revolt against his ungrateful and misguided Emperor. But see my *Claudian* for some reservations on a too favourable estimate of Stilico's actual achievement, and in particular for his much misunderstood series of engagements with Alaric.

[58] It is worth observing how studiously vague and noncommittal Ambrose is. He could hardly have said less more ambiguously. And the proof of this lies in the fact that these very same words have also been invoked to support the opposite interpretation — with less justice, I venture to think. In view of the ambiguity Theodosius' words took on after Stilico's interpretation, who could blame Ambrose for stepping so carefully?

poems aimed in the first instance at Western audiences, was probably designed to justify Stilico's foreign rather than home policy.

But even if Stilico did exceed his brief in claiming the right to rule in Arcadius' name as well as Honorius', there is no need to believe that he was motivated solely by personal ambition. Naturally this motive must have been well to the fore. But we may easily believe that, better aware perhaps than Theodosius of the failings of the feeble Arcadius, Stilico was genuinely concerned at the future of an East left in fact to the unscrupulous ambition of his enemy Rufinus. And such apprehension would have been fully justified, as events were to show. For the twelve years before his premature death in 408 Arcadius was Emperor in name only, the real power being exercised by a series of ministers, divided by personal rivalries, united only in their common opposition to the pretensions of Stilico, and prepared to put that opposition above the best interests of the Empire. Had Stilico succeeded in his attempt to reunite the two halves of the Empire under a strong hand at this critical juncture, its subsequent history might have been very different. Paradoxically, he failed precisely because he was not ambitious or unscrupulous enough. He lacked the courage simply to march on Constantinople and establish his "regency" by force.

BEDFORD COLLEGE, LONDON
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK

.

ARCHITECT AND ENGINEER IN ARCHAIC GREECE

R. Ross Holloway

THE Greek peripteral temple is so much a characteristic of the Greek world that we may forget that it was an invention of the mid-seventh century B.C. And so indelibly are its forms fixed in stonemasonry that it is difficult for us to appreciate the sudden and extravagant debut made by the stone temple in the Greek world hardly more than a half-century after the construction of the first peripteral building. It must be emphasized that the first builders in stone were not the inventors of the Greek orders. The Doric order already existed in peripteral temples built entirely above their foundations in wood, mud brick, and terracotta. The best dated building belonging to this category is the temple erected about 620 at Thermon in Aitolia.[1] It was peripteral, and its terracotta metopes show that it was unquestionably of the Doric order. The excavation, however, revealed no traces whatsoever of stone columns or stone superstructure. The peripteral temple was also known in Ionia before the appearance of stone columns and superstructures, as shown by the remains of the mid-seventh-century Heraion at Samos.[2] Its order was presumably Ionic.

Within a generation after the building of the first peripteral temples in wood and mud brick, peripteral temples with stone columns and entablatures were planned and erected throughout the Greek world. It is remarkable how quickly the cities and sanctuaries in Asia Minor

---

Among the handbooks of Greek architecture reference is made, in general, to W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Architecture of Ancient Greece* (London 1950), abbreviated as Dinsmoor. Other abbreviations, in addition to those in general use, are Overbeck for J. Overbeck, *Die antiken Schriftquellen zur Geschichte der Bildenden Künste bei den Griechen* (Leipzig 1868), and *Enc. Arte Ant.* for *Enciclopedia dell' Arte Antica*.

[1] Dinsmoor 51–53; *Enc. Arte Ant.* VII: 825–827 (Borrelli).

[2] The principal excavation report remains that of E. Buschor in *Ath. Mitt.* 55 (1930) 1–99. Cf. H. Berve, G. Gruben, and M. Hirmer, *Greek Temples, Theaters and Shrines* (New York 1962) 447–456, and H. Walter, *Das griechische Heiligtum, Heraion von Samos* (Munich 1965); and, for all phases of excavation, bibliography in Buschor's report, *Neue deutsche Ausgrabungen in Mittelmeergebiet und im Vorderen Orient* (Berlin 1959) 223–224.

and Greece proper, in Sicily, Italy, and Cyrenaica shouldered the ex-
pense of erecting lavish stone temples, some of them almost as large as
any ever built. The ponderous stonemasonry added an element of
marvel and grandeur to these buildings. For a people scarcely a century
removed from the village life of the Geometric Age, it must have been a
wonderful thing to encounter the architects and engineers who raised
these first leviathans, men with the knowledge to handle the giant blocks
of stone from quarry to building site and with the skill to raise the mighty
columns and to suspend the bulky stone entablatures above them. It is a
testimony to the impression created by these first builders in stone that
we know many of them by name. But they have received little credit
from the modern architectural historian for their accomplishments.
We somehow take it for granted that stone architecture came into use
throughout the Greek world at almost the same time without reflecting
on the technical knowledge and daring that underlie each Greek
temple. By reconsidering the information we have about the first Greek
builders in stone it may be possible to find out how the diffusion of
monumental stone architecture was achieved in the Greek world.[3]
The conclusion of the following pages is that these epoch-making
buildings were the work of a small group of men from Ionia who served
as engineers for every major stone temple built in the Greek world
before the middle of the sixth century B.C.

In each case in which we know the architect of any major temple of
this period, we find that he was one of a partnership. This aspect of early
Greek architecture is so important that we should review the individual
cases.

The first of these is the Temple of Hera at Samos erected after the
middle of the seventh century and before the middle of the sixth century,
probably toward the end of this period, about 570 B.C. This building
is conveniently known as the Third Heraion.[4] It was gigantic by the
standards of its own or any later day. The temple measured 52.5 m. by
105 m. on the stylobate, and we may judge the ambitiousness of this
undertaking if we remember that its wood and mud brick predecessor
of the mid-seventh century, by no means a small building, had measured

---

[3] The source of Greek knowledge of quarry technique and stone-handling
was Egypt, but in the first stone temples Greek masonry has already been
carried far beyond the rubble-cored wall construction of Egyptian monumental
architecture. Cf. S. Clarke and R. Engelbach, *Ancient Egyptian Masonry* (Oxford
1930).

[4] For detailed analysis of this building and its successor, O. Reuther, *Der
Heratempel von Samos* (Berlin 1957).

12 m. by 36 m. on the stylobate. The naos and pronaos of the Third
Heraion were surrounded by 104 columns. The arrangement was
octostyle (decastyle on the west front), dipteral, with twenty-one col-
umns on the flanks. Two men, Rhoikos and Theodoros, are associated
with the construction of this temple. Their identity, however, is clouded
by genealogical problems, which must be solved before their role as
builders can be considered. There are, in fact, two men named Theo-
doros involved in the tradition, and the problem is further complicated
by the activity of at least two of the three as foundrymen and sculptors
in bronze.[5]

Rhoikos the son of Philaios and Theodoros the son of Telekles are
mentioned:

Together, as founders and sculptors,
   Pausanias 8.14.8 (Overbeck no. 275) διέχεαν δὲ χαλκὸν πρῶτοι
καὶ ἀγάλματα ἐχωνεύσαντο Ῥοῖκός τε Φιλαίου καὶ Θεόδωρος Τηλεκλέους
Σάμιοι.
   Pausanias 10.38.6 (Overbeck no. 277) ἐδήλωσα δὲ ἐν τοῖς προτέροις
τοῦ λόγου, Σαμίους Ῥοῖκον Φιλαίου καὶ Θεόδωρον Τηλεκλέους εἶναι τοὺς
εὑρόντας χαλκὸν ἐς τὸ ἀκριβέστατον τῆξαι· καὶ ἐχώνευσαν οὗτοι πρῶτοι.

Singly,
   Rhoikos the son of Philaios, as architect of the Heraion, Herodotos
3.60 (Overbeck no. 273) τρίτον δέ σφι (Σαμίοισιν) ἐξέργασται νηὸς
μέγιστος πάντων νηῶν τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, τοῦ ἀρχιτέκτων πρῶτος ἐγένετο
Ῥοῖκος Φίλεω ἐπιχώριος.
   Theodoros the son of Telekles, as engraver, Herodotos 3.41
(Overbeck no. 285) ἦν οἱ (Πολυκράτῃ) σφρηγὶς τὴν ἐφόρεε χρυσόδετος,
σμαράγδου μὲν λίθου ἐοῦσα, ἔργον δὲ ἦν Θεοδώρου τοῦ Τηλεκλέος Σαμίου.

Theodoros the son of Rhoikos is mentioned:

Together with his brother Telekles the son of Rhoikos, as a founder
and sculptor,
   Diodorus 1.98 (Overbeck no. 279) τῶν τε ἀγαλματοποιῶν τῶν
παλαιῶν τοὺς μάλιστα διωνομασμένους διατετριφέναι παρ' αὐτοῖς (scil.
Αἰγυπτίοις) Τηλεκλέα καὶ Θεόδωρον, τοὺς Ῥοίκου μὲν υἱούς, κατασκευά-
σαντας δὲ τοῖς Σαμίοις τὸ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Πυθίου ξόανον.

   [5] Bibliography of modern literature in *Enc. Arte Ant.* VI 672-673 and VII
812-813 (Moreno). There is no need to consider seriously Pliny the Elder's dating
of Rhoikos and Theodoros in the seventh century implicit in *HN* 35.152 (Over-
beck no. 262).

Singly,

    as engineer for the Temple of Artemis at Ephesos, Diogenes
Laertios 2.103 (in part Overbeck no. 282) Θεόδωροι δὲ γεγόνασιν
εἴκοσι. πρῶτος, Σάμιος, υἱὸς Ῥοίκου. οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ συμβουλεύσας ἄνθρακας
ὑποτεθῆναι τοῖς θεμελίοις τοῦ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ νεώ, καθύγρου γὰρ ὄντος τοῦ τόπου
τοὺς ἄνθρακας ἔφη τὸ ξυλῶδες ἀποβαλόντας αὐτὸ τὸ στερεὸν ἀπαθὲς
ἔχειν ὕδατι.

These citations, which include all those giving a patronymic, would
suggest the accompanying stemma.

<div align="center">

Philaios
|
Rhoikos
|
_____
| |
Telekles   Theodoros
|
Theodoros

</div>
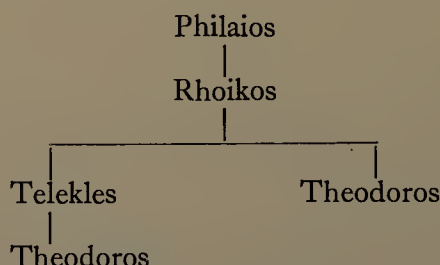
However, two considerations affect this reconstruction as concerns
Telekles and Theodoros. First, the Theodoros son of Telekles associated
with Rhoikos as a collaborator in two passages by Pausanias becomes in
this stemma Rhoikos' grandson. Such a situation is difficult to imagine.
It is far more likely that collaborating sculptors belonged to the same or
successive generations. The ancient citations do not exclude the possi-
bility that the Theodoros son of Telekles cited by Pausanias was a
cousin, rather than a grandson, of Rhoikos. If the men were cousins,
they could easily be contemporaries.

    Our second consideration involves the dating of Theodoros the son
of Telekles. Herodotos (3.41) says that the famous ring of Polykrates of
Samos was the work of Theodoros the son of Telekles. It is a chrono-
logically appealing coincidence that the grandson of the builder of the
Third Heraion (about 570) should work for a tyrant who ruled in the
third quarter of the same century. However, gemstones and rings are
articles which are frequently not made expressly for their owners.
Inherited, stolen, or purchased, they have always acquired value by
virtue of age. So the fact that Polykrates had a ring by Theodoros the
son of Telekles by no means requires us to make the two contempor-
aneous.[6] No conclusions can be drawn from the two kraters, one of

---

[6] On sealstones in general, H. U. Instinsky, *Die Siegel des Kaisers Augustus*
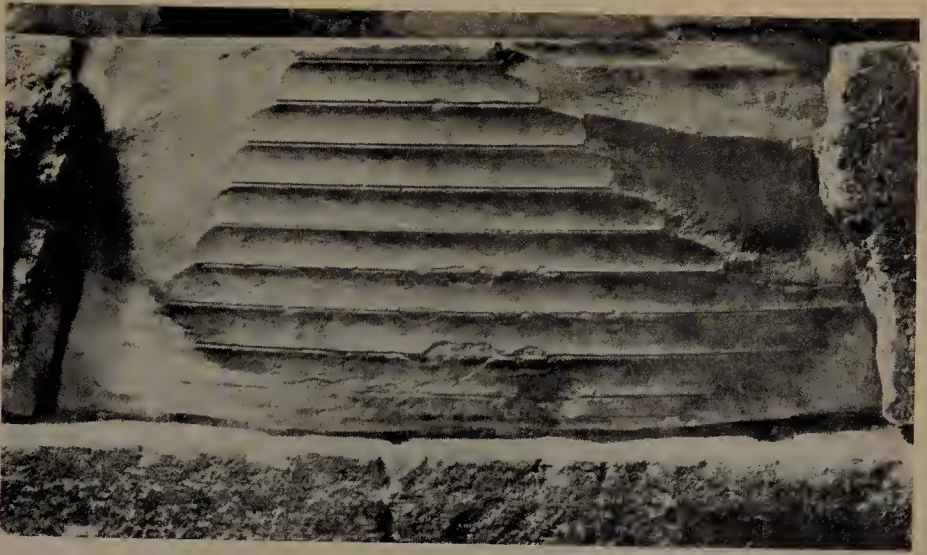
PLATE I, 1. Samos. Lathe-turned drum from the Third Heraion reused in the foundations of the Fourth Heraion. After Walter, *Das griechische Heiligtum*, fig. 61.
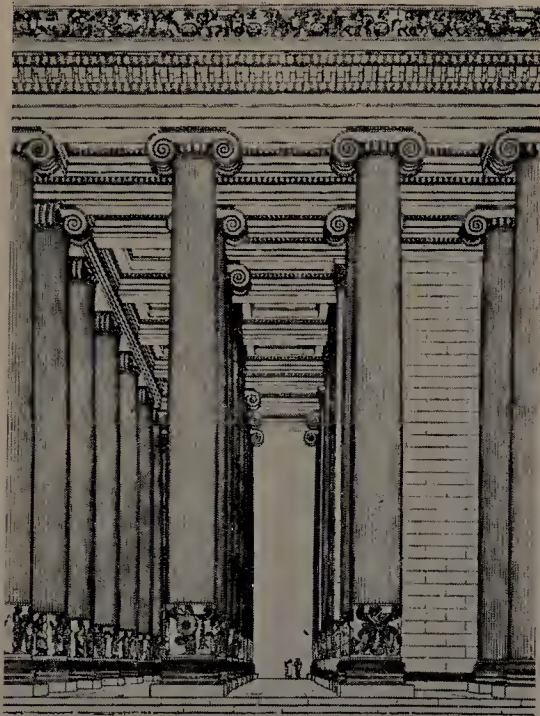

PLATE I, 2. Ephesos. Temple of Artemis. Restoration drawing by F. Krischen. Note the scale of the building in relation to the human figures in the portico.

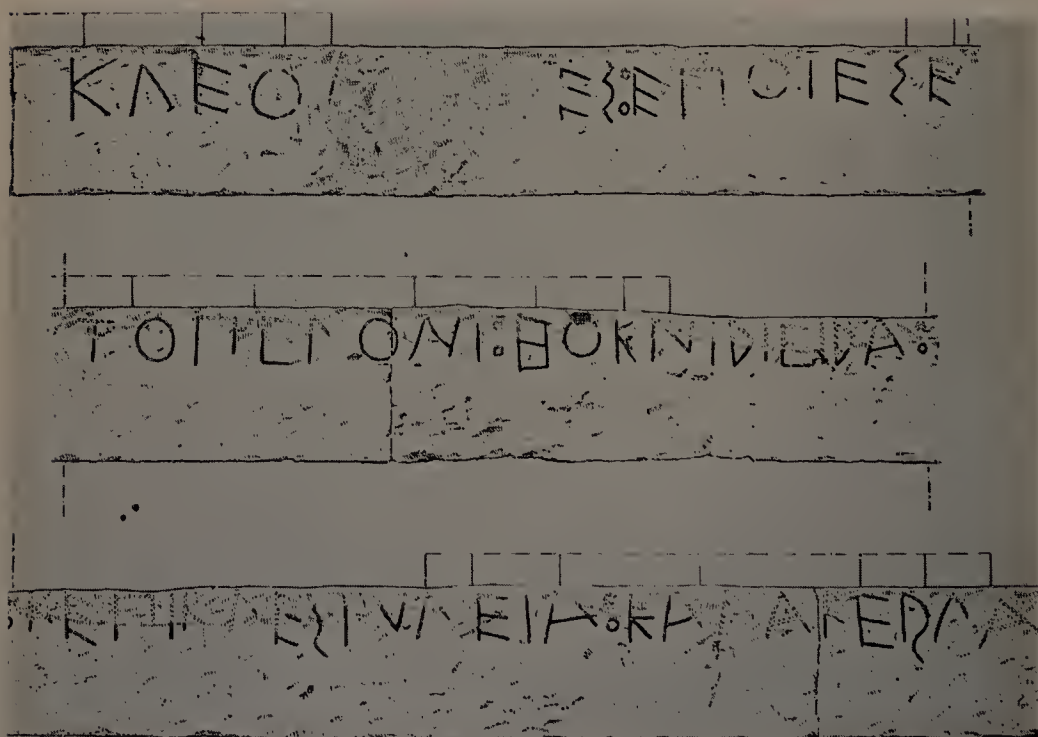PLATE II, 1. Syracuse. Temple of Apollo. *Photo author.*

PLATE II, 2. Syracuse. Temple of Apollo, inscription on stylobate. Drawing by G. Gatti after *Archeologia Classica* 1 (1949) pl. 2.

silver and the other of gold, dedicated by Kroisos at Delphi, Herodotos 1.51, Overbeck no. 284, or from the gold-decorated krater that Pythios the Lydian gave to Darius I, Herodotos 7.27, Overbeck no. 290, and Athenaios 12, p. 514 F, Overbeck, no. 286. Both were the work of Theodoros called the Samian without patronymic.

Let us reconstruct the stemma to meet the condition, implicit in the statements of Pausanias, that Rhoikos and Theodoros the son of Telekles were contemporaries. For lack of necessary evidence, we may omit the fourth generation, Theodoros son of Telekles and grandson of Rhoikos.

Philaios   Telekles
| |
Rhoikos   Theodoros
|
_____
| |
Telekles   Theodoros
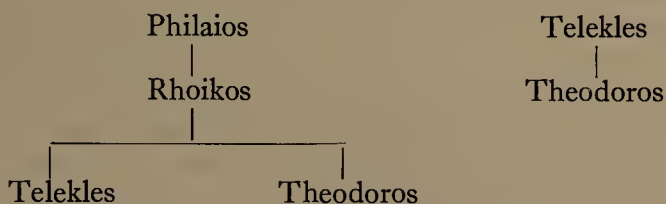
It is now time to return to Rhoikos and Theodoros the builders. Rhoikos, as we have seen, is named as architect of the Samian Heraion by Herodotos 3.60. Theodoros, without patronymic, is connected with the building by Vitruvius 7 praef. 12, Overbeck no. 274, who states *de aede Iunonis, quae est Sami, dorica*[7] *Theodorus (volumen edidit).* Theodoros the engineer who worked at Ephesos was the son of Rhoikos, as we have seen in Diogenes Laertios 2.103. Diogenes begins this passage by recalling that there were twenty important Theodoroi, so we may expect that their identities and patronymics were on his mind. Following Diogenes we see that the builders in this famous family were father and son. This is the key to clarifying the personalities of the two Theodoroi. The elder of the two, son of Telekles, is the founder, sculptor, gem-cutter, and artist-collaborator of Rhoikos. The younger, son of Rhoikos, is principally an engineer. In what sense Rhoikos was an architect rather than an engineer will become clear at a later point.

At this juncture, however, we must face an immediate question. Did father and son collaborate on the same building? A rebuilding of the Third Heraion was initiated in the sixth century, probably by the tyrant Polykrates.[8] Two considerations would seem to favor assigning the

---

(Baden-Baden 1962). Even if the ring is admitted to have been ordered by Polykrates, there is no reason it could not have been made by an artist principally active in the first half of the sixth century.

[7] "Dorica," obviously erroneous.

[8] Cf. above, nn. 2 and 4.

earlier building (the Third Heraion) to Rhoikos and the later one to
Theodoros. First, Herodotos explicitly says that Rhoikos was the
"first" architect, 3.60. Indeed, this statement is the basis of attributing
the Third Heraion to Rhoikos and shows that Herodotos was aware of
the rebuilding. Second, Vitruvius 7 praef. 12 says that Theodoros wrote
a *volumen* on the architecture of the temple, and one does not expect
technical treatises in the early sixth century.

Deferring the problem raised by Herodotos, we may easily dispose
of the seeming anachronism in the Vitruvian text. An architectural
treatise, if by this we understand a text dealing with problems of build-
ing and proportions of architecture in connected prose, would be just as
unexpected in the late as in the early sixth century. The problem, how-
ever, is more in Vitruvius' use of the word *volumen* than in the original
document. The word simply means "roll." It can mean no more than
"chapter." Vitruvius attributes *volumina* to eleven architects he men-
tions in the preface to the seventh book of his work on architecture. Some
of the Hellenistic architects like Hermogenes may indeed have written
theoretical treatises. But what all architects did compose was a συγγραφή
or set of specifications. We should note that Vitruvius includes among
these *volumina* that of Philon on the naval arsenal in the Piraeus. The
stele with the συγγραφή of Philon's building has survived, and this is the
document to which I believe Vitruvius is referring.[9] *Volumen* in Vitru-
vius, therefore, need be no more than a translation of the Greek
συγγραφή. In view of the complexities presented by building a temple on
the scale of the Samian Heraion, there is every reason to think that its
specifications were written down and that they survived to a later time,
even if not published by a contemporary inscription.

The difficulty of Vitruvius overcome, we can associate Theodoros
with the building of the Third Heraion in a direct way. Pliny the Elder
credited Theodoros the Samian with the introduction of several builder's
tools. His text, 7.198, Overbeck no. 281, reads: *normam autem invenit
et libellam et tornum et clavem Theodorus Samius.* These articles are the

---

[9] *IG* II 2² 1668, Dittenberger, *Syll.*³ 969. One might defend Vitruvius by
recalling the eloquent speech with which Philon recommended his project to
the Athenian assembly, Cicero *De oratore* 1.62. But turning to speeches will
hardly provide a means of connecting Vitruvius' eleven *volumina* with reflective
prose. On Greek architectural procedures which included written specifications
and full-scale models, but not, evidently, drawings, cf. J. Bundgaard, *Mnesicles*
(Copenhagen 1957) 93–132, and K. Jeppsen, *Paradeigmata* (Copenhagen 1960)
69–101. The word συγγραφή denoting an architectural project already appears
in the decree authorizing Kallikrates' project for the Temple of Athene Nike on
the Athenian Acropolis, *IG* I² 24, lines 8–9, 14–15, 17–18.

square (*norma*), a leveling instrument (*libella*), a wrench (?) (*clavis*), and the lathe (*tornus*). The lathe reappears in another reference made by Pliny to Theodoros the architect. *N.H.* 36.90, Overbeck no. 283, reads, *Lemnius* (*labyrinthus*) *columnis tantum centum quinquaginta memorabilior fuit, quarum in officina turbines ita librati pependerunt, ut puero circumagente tornarentur. Architecti illum fecere Smilis et Rhoecus et Theodorus indigenae, exstantque adhuc reliquiae eius.* This Lemnian labyrinth with its forest of columns has much about it that reminds one of the Samian Heraion, and the Heraion, in fact, may be at the bottom of the labyrinth story.[10] For our purposes, however, the importance of the entry is that Theodoros is again connected with the turning of column segments on the lathe.

At the Samian Heraion bases that unquestionably come from the Third Heraion, since they were reused in the foundations of the succeeding temple, were made by turning on the lathe.[11] Since the Third Heraion thus shows the use of exactly one of those tools supposedly introduced by Theodoros, we may conclude that both he and his father Rhoikos had a part in the building of the Third Heraion. But what are we to do with Herodotos' clear words that Rhoikos was the "first" architect? The answer is that Rhoikos, the sculptor and bronze worker, was what we would call the architectural designer and that Theodoros was the consulting engineer. As we shall see, this was normal Greek, as it is normal modern, practice. And such a conclusion is substantiated by what we know of Theodoros' other professional commissions.

Theodoros was called to Ephesos to assist the architect Chersiphon of Knossos with the foundations of the Temple of Artemis, Diogenes Laertios 2.103. It was Theodoros' idea to lay down a mat of charcoal in the swampy area where the temple foundations were to be placed. At Sparta Theodoros built the σκιάς, a round umbrella-shaped hall like the tholos at Athens, Pausanias 3.12.10. This was an unusual building calling for a specialist engineer. For another unusual structure, the throne and colossus of Apollo at Amyklai, the Spartans sought out another Ionian, Bathykles of Magnesia, Pausanias 3.18.9, Overbeck no. 360.

When we turn elsewhere in the sixth century we find that other major building projects required collaboration. Four men, Antistates, Kallaischros, Antimachides, and Pormos, worked as architects on the Olympieion at Athens under Peisistratos, Vitruvius 7 praef. 15. And at Syracuse we have a contemporary inscription of the greatest importance

---

[10] R. Eilmann, *Labyrinthos* (Athens 1931) 84ff.
[11] H. Johannes, *Ath. Mitt.* 62 (1937) 13–37.

recording the names of the builders of the Temple of Apollo on Ortygia. This inscription, carved on the vertical face of the stylobate of the temple at its southeast corner, was discovered in 1864. It has been the subject of renewed and intensive study by Margherita Guarducci, who arrives at the following text:[12]

Κλεο[...]ες ἐποίεσε τὸπέλονι hο Κνιδιε[ί]δα κ' Ἐπικ[λ]ες (σ)τύλεια καλὰ Ϝέργα.

> Kleo[men]es the son of Knidieides made (it) for Apollo, and Epikles (made) the columns, fine works.

In this temple, which may have been built close to 600 B.C., only the interior walls, the columns, and the architrave were certainly of stone.[13] From the inscription we see that the execution of the columns, the only part of the stonework requiring special carving and finishing, was not entrusted to the builder, but to a special collaborator. This is the interpretation of Miss Guarducci, and it is one that corresponds admirably to the architectural practices we found in Ionia at this time. Thus at Syracuse Kleomenes was the engineer and Epikles was the architectural designer.

There is one additional point to make about the builders of the Apollo Temple at Syracuse. The father of Kleomenes the engineer was known as "the Knidian." Thus Kleomenes, as Miss Guarducci points out, was from an Ionian family. And this tie with Ionia is reflected in the ground plan of his building. First, as in many western Greek temples, the east front is deep and the columns of the east front are doubled. Second, the antae of the pronaos are not thickened. Both of these features are in conflict with the traditions of mainland Doric. Both are typical of Ionian architectural practice and taste.

The record of the collaboration of Kleomenes and Epikles enables us to understand better the basic role in architecture of men like Rhoikos the bronze worker and sculptor, and at a later date sculptors such as Polykleitos the Younger and Skopas.[14] They must have been, first

[12] *Archeologia Classica* 1 (1949) 4–10; the inscription is *IG* XIV no. 1.

[13] On the building, Dinsmoor 75–77, Berve *et al.* (above, n. 2) 416–419, and H. Gabrici in *Monumenti Antichi* 43 (1956) cols. 387–391. The Apollo Temple must be a very early building. It is generally dated to the mid-sixth century, but the Gorgon Temple of Kerkyra, datable on the basis of its sculptural decoration to about 580, is more advanced in every detail of its order and in those details of its plan that have been recovered. Cf. G. Rodenwaldt *et al.*, *Korkyra*, vols. 1 and 2 (Berlin 1939 and 1940), and most recently on the date E. B. Harrison, *The Athenian Agora*, 9, *Archaic and Archaistic Sculpture* (Princeton 1965) 3.

[14] Polykleitos the Younger, architect of the theater and tholos at Epidauros, Pausanias 2.27.5; Skopas, architect of the Temple of Athene Alea at Tegea, Pausanias 8.45.5.

and foremost, designers of architectural details, the capitals, friezes, and moldings, which the stonemasons had to reproduce for the building. Unlike his modern successors who prepare measured drawings, the architect of the classical world seems to have submitted only a συγγραφή or statement of specifications and full-scale models of individual details.[15] We have already noted the συγγραφή of Philon for the arsenal in the Piraeus, and we have one architect's model, a Corinthian capital for the Tholos at Epidauros designed by Polykleitos the Younger, which, though perfect, was never used on the building but seems to have been buried intentionally after the stonemasons had made their copies.[16] The use of the full-scale model rather than a drawing emphasized the work of the sculptor-designer in the creation of the Greek monumental stone building.

Once the συγγραφή was approved and the models prepared, the architectural designer's job was done. In the classical period the technical knowledge of the early Ionian master engineers had become part of the general skill of the building trades. Consequently, the supervising engineer's position was reduced to that of job foreman, paid at the rate of a skilled workman, as we find in the building accounts of the Erechtheion.[17] Nevertheless, even in the fifth century the engineer could be important. And so it was that Karpion and Kallikrates were remembered beside Iktinos as the builders of the Parthenon.[18]

It was not so in the early days of Greek temple-building when the ability to handle dry stonemasonry and to raise colonnades was a new and wonderful art. It is of some interest that all the engineers we have encountered in the early sixth century whose home or family connections are known were Ionians. Moreover, all of them, Theodoros of Samos, Bathykles of Magnesia, Kleomenes the son of the "Knidian," are connected with a small area around Miletos where in the early sixth century Thales combined an interest in practical engineering with his philosophical speculations.[19] To complete the *testimonia* associated with

[15] Cf. reference above in n. 9.

[16] A. Defrasse and H. Lechat, *Epidaure* (Paris 1895) 115, pl. VII, Dinsmoor 235 and pl. LVIII.

[17] *IG* I² 374 lines 256–258, and in general M. L. Clarke, "The Architects of Greece and Rome," *Architectural History* 6 (1963) 9–22.

[18] Vitruvius 7 praef. 12, Plutarch *Perikles* 13.

[19] Thales as a military engineer channelized the Halys to permit the passage of Kroisos' army, Herodotos 1.75. We might include Theodoros of Phokaia among the early Ionian architects, Vitruvius 7 praef. 12, but it is uncertain whether he belongs to the sixth or the fourth century.

10*

this region, we may note that Samos was also the site of another engineering wonder, the aqueduct of Eupalinos the Megarian, and that at the end of the century it was a Samian engineer, Mandrokles, who built Darius' bridge over the Danube.[20]

It appears that this area, at the beginning of the sixth century, furnished the engineers to whom we owe the earliest stone temples not only of Ionia, but of mainland Greece and Magna Graecia as well. In the latter two regions they associated themselves with architectural designers schooled in the wooden Doric order, just as they worked with sculptor-designers used to the Ionic order in their homeland. However, the presence of Ionian engineers gives us an explanation of one of the puzzling phenomena of early Greek architecture: the intrusion of Ionic details and tendencies in Doric buildings. This phenomenon is not limited to Athens with her Ionian pretensions or to Sicily and South Italy, where it has long been a matter of discussion. It occurs in the earliest buildings at such unlikely places as Tiryns, Kerkyra, and Olympia.[21]

The Ionian engineer found Greek architecture a thing of brick and tile. He left it a permanent achievement in stonemasonry. In so doing he made an essential contribution to the monumentality of the Greek temple by enabling the architectural designers with whom he worked to accomplish the physically ponderous and seemingly impossible with grace and proportion.

BROWN UNIVERSITY

---

[20] Herodotos 3.60 and 4.87–88.
[21] Tiryns, A. Frickenhaus *et al.*, *Tiryns* 1 (Athens 1912) 7, fig. 6, and Dinsmoor 73; Kerkyra, above n. 13; Olympia, Sikyonian Treasury, Pausanias 6.19.2.

A TERRACOTTA LAMP IN THE
McDANIEL COLLECTION

Sidney M. Goldstein

I N 1967 a terracotta lamp was acquired by the Alice Corinne McDaniel Collection of Classical Antiquities, a collection presented to the Department of the Classics, Harvard University, by Professor Walton Brooks McDaniel in memory of his wife. This collection has a fund for the acquisition of further objects.

The McDaniel lamp[1] (plate 1) is a terracotta object in excellent preservation except for some small losses in the tips of the nozzles.[2] The lamp was made from a buff clay and covered with a mat terracotta red slip.[3] The manufacture was accomplished by joining two separate pieces and smoothing them together just below the reservoir.[4] The decoration is molded and then retouched with an effect of low relief.

---

[1] Fogg Art Museum TL. 16085, L: 0.39 m., greatest W: 0.193 m., diameter of discus: 0.119 m., average L. nozzle: 0.112 m. The dealer claimed it was found in Asia Minor.

[2] The lamp was examined in the Conservation Laboratory of the Fogg Art Museum. As a research assistant under Miss Elizabeth Jones, Chief Conservator, and Mr. Arthur Beale, Assistant Conservator, I was able to clean and study the object. An examination of the vessel under ultraviolet light revealed compacted residue in the relief and some reconstruction in the nozzles. This work was accomplished with a fibrous material soluble in cellusolve acetate. The sections were inpainted with a water-soluble rose pigment. As the reconstruction did not cover any important surfaces and was correctly executed according to the profile of the lamp, I found it unnecessary to remove it. A test of the surface deposits revealed a high content of calcium carbonate, which was removed by mechanical cleaning; the lamp was then washed in distilled water.

[3] The clay can be seen in the nozzle area where the slip has flaked off and on the back of the handle shield where the potter was a bit sloppy and missed covering a few spots with the brush.

[4] Each piece would have been made in a two-part mold and joined when leather-hard; the edges were usually smoothed at the joint by a wooden implement. It is interesting that in such a large lamp, the handle shield is molded in the same piece as the body of the lamp, not added at a later time. This process was also employed in smaller double-spouted lamps, but in such large examples as the McDaniel lamp, the handle was usually constructed separately and attached to the body.

The discus is accented by concentric grooves (0.001 m. wide) which encircle the oil hole (0.011 m. dia.) in two sets of two grooves each. Although the oil hole is cut through a level surface, the rest of the discus inclines sharply toward the shoulder. Beyond the groove decoration is a band (0.02 m. wide) of gladiatorial armor displayed in a free field. This is in turn bordered by three pairs of concentric grooves (plate IV, 1).

The two great nozzles join the discus at an oblique angle. Both nozzles are formed by graceful double volutes (plate III, 1), the terminals of which are carried as ribs down the sides of the reservoir (plate III, 2). The inner volute is shared by both nozzles; each has a small heart-shaped tongue running along the neck between the volutes. The tip of the nozzle swells into a graceful pointed spout pierced by a large wick-hole (0.042 m. dia.).

The angle of the two nozzles and their point of juncture with the reservoir is not so abrupt and perpendicular as that of later and smaller lamps (plate II, 1).[5] It is not so successful, however, as its bronze proto-type, which seems to me to be more aesthetically pleasing. Far more abrupt and composite in its effect is the triangular handle shield placed on top of the rectangular strut (0.036 m. l. × 0.031 m. w.) which juts from the back of the reservoir. The shield itself (0.122 m. at base × 0.105 m. h.) is decorated with a scene depicting a Victory, holding a cornucopia and shield in her right hand[6] and a *tropaeum* in her left hand, proceeding toward an altar. She is accompanied by two Lares who hold *rhyta* and *situlae* in the standard gesture of ritual offering (plate V, 1). Some cross-hatching visible in the background appears to be the wings of the Victory. These markings should probably be interpreted as an attempt to depict a background against which the scene is taking place, perhaps clouds or foliage. What is obviously foliage springs from the cornucopia.

The side view of the lamp (plate III, 2) is broken only by the ribs of

[5] Compare the two examples of double-spouted lamps in H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of Greek and Roman Lamps in the British Museum* (London 1914) nos. 832, 851 on pl. XXVIII.

[6] According to the interpretation of Tonio Hölscher, *Victoria Romana* (Mainz 1967), p. 109, concerning the discus of a lamp in the British Museum with a similar scene (Walters, *Catalogue*, no. 1372, p. 206, fig. 316), the Victory pro-ceeding toward the altar carries both the shield and the cornucopia in the right hand. The shield does not rest on the altar as described in the catalogue. The parallel is drawn with representations of Victories carrying shields on New Year's lamps. See Walters, *Catalogue*, nos. 780, p. 118, pl. XXV; 1062, p. 159, fig. 214; 1373, 1374, p. 206, "Dressel in C.I.L. xv. p. 784, ascribes these lamps to the time of Augustus and his successors, and connects them with those inscribed OB CIVES SERVATOS, see no. 652, p. 98, pl. XXII."

PLATE I. Terracotta Lamp, McDaniel Collection.

PLATE II, 1. Three Lamps, First Century A.D.
(a) McDaniel Lamp, Fogg Art Museum TL. 16085; (b) double-spouted lamp,
Peabody Museum 40-8-40/5512; (c) volute lamp, Peabody Museum E-3474.

PLATE II, 2. Bronze Statuettes of Gladiators, British Museum. *Photo Trustees
of the British Museum.*

PLATE III, 1. McDaniel Lamp, left nozzle.

PLATE III, 2. McDaniel Lamp, profile.

PLATE IV, 1. McDaniel Lamp, discus.

PLATE IV, 2. Double-spouted Lamp, British Museum 838. *Photo Trustees of the British Museum.*

PLATE V, 1. McDaniel Lamp, handle shield.

PLATE V, 2. Volute Lamp, Fogg Art Museum 3219.

PLATE VI, 1. Volute Lamp, Fogg Art Museum 3494.

PLATE VI, 2. Volute Lamp, Peabody Museum E-3474.

the volute terminals. The bottom of the lamp has a double incised line for the base ring (fig. 1).
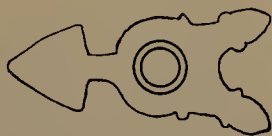
FIG. 1. McDaniel Lamp, bottom

Besides the state of preservation, the most notable feature of the lamp is its size. If the reader will compare the lamp to the later double-spouted variety (plate II, 1b)[7] of the first century A.D. or a single-spouted volute lamp (plate II, 1c),[8] the comparison speaks for itself.

There are several questions which arise about the lamp; the first should be the origin of such a mammoth specimen. One can find parallels for the type in the double-spouted and multi-spouted Hellenistic bronze lamps.[9] A number of elements in the McDaniel lamp are useless vestiges in terracotta of working parts in a bronze lamp. As is mentioned in the catalogue of the lamps from the Athenian Agora, the triangular handle shield was employed to increase the "wattage" in bronze lamps; unless a clay lamp had a thick lustrous glaze, this purpose was lost.[10] The oculi of the volutes on the McDaniel lamp probably reflect rivets in the bronze original. The most convincing argument for imitation of a bronze lamp is the size of the lamp. Such vessels would have been easily manufactured in bronze but were very tricky to fire in terracotta.[11] The

[7] Peabody Museum Collection no. 40-8-40/5512 is an unpublished lamp of the first century A.D. The discus decoration is a Victory on a globe carrying wreath and palm. Before cleaning, the lamp was covered with a flat black slip. Perhaps it was intended to be received as a Greek black-glazed ware. For parallels see O. Waldhauer, *Kaiserliche Ermitage, Die antike Tonlampen* (St. Petersburg 1914) no. 213, p. 39, pl. XXI.

[8] Peabody Museum Collection no. E-3474 is also an unpublished lamp of the first century A.D. For references see below, n. 24.

[9] For examples of bronze lamps that parallel the McDaniel lamp see the following publications: W. Fuchs, *Der Schiffsfund Von Mahdia* in the *Bilder-hefte des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Rom* II (Tübingen 1963) no. 34, p. 29, Taf. 42, 44.1; and no. 35, p. 30, Taf. 43; D. Iványi, *Die Pannonischen Lampen; Dissertationes Pannonicae* (ser. 2, no. 2, Budapest 1935) nos. 4293, 4295, pp. 299–300, pl. LXIV, 3; and no. 4278, p. 297, pl. LIX, 4; Walters, *Catalogue*, nos. 38–41, p. 8, pls. II, V, and VII.

[10] J. Perlzweig, *The Athenian Agora: Lamps of the Roman Period* (Princeton 1961) p. 4.

[11] The McDaniel lamp is sunk slightly on one side; this probably happened during the firing period.

production of both bronze lamps and their imitations dropped sharply in the first century A.D., being most popular before 50 A.D. Because both forms were also expensive to produce, the demand decreased at this time.[12]

Studies of chronological and stylistic development of lamps in the Roman period have been undertaken by various scholars with museum collections as well as excavated material.[13] The McDaniel form does not correspond exactly with any single typological division, but it is a close variant of the following categories and should be chronologically and stylistically linked with them; Broneer's group two of type XXI (figs. 2, 3),[14] Loeschcke's type III,[15] Walters' form 89,[16] Menzel's series of

[12] Perlzweig, *Agora*, p. 5.

[13] Besides the works mentioned in the footnotes the reader should also consult J. J. Bachofen, *Römische Grablampen* (Leipzig 1912); Th. Wiegand, *Priene, Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen in den Jahren 1895–1898* (Berlin 1904); R. Haken, "Roman Lamps in the Prague National Museum and in Other Czechoslovak Collections" in *Acta Musei Nationalis Prague* 12 (Prague 1958) 7ff; R. H. Howland, *The Athenian Agora; Greek Lamps and Their Survival* (Princeton 1958). These sources contain valuable information which will supplement this short article.

[14] O. Broneer, *Corinth: Terracotta Lamps* IV 2 (Cambridge 1930) pp. 73ff, nos. 383–417, pls. VII–IX. On p. 73 Broneer discusses the development of the relief lamp evolving from experimentation in the second half of the first century B.C. The examples are taken from Hellenistic prototypes. Group one is the earlier of the type XXI lamps and is more transitional in style. The reader should compare the McDaniel nozzle (plate III, 1) with the drawing of Broneer's no. 383, pl. VIII (our fig. 2) p. 167, to contrast the style of the lamp. The Broneer type (L:0.245 m., W:0.146 m., H: 0.07 m.) is much smaller than the McDaniel lamp, and the volutes have not developed. There is no relief picture, merely a rosette pattern in type XXI, and there are side lugs of rather heavy proportion. Unlike the McDaniel lamp, the material of Broneer's no. 383 is a dark gray clay with a black metallic slip (p. 74). Broneer feels that the first group is a transitional phase between the Hellenistic lamps and the purely Roman products. He considers group two of type XXI to be an Italian product. The discus decoration, the volute, and the base ring are Roman features, and the best example of this later type would be no. 409, p. 170, pl. IX (our fig. 3). The size (L: 0.33 m., W: ca. 0.195 m.) now approximates that of the McDaniel lamp; there is also the similarity of buff clay and brown glaze. Yet, unlike the McDaniel lamp, this series has a thin band around the circumference of the shoulder, a raised base ring, and is characterized by the addition of animal-head finials at the oculi of the outer volute.

[15] S. Loeschcke, *Lampen aus Vindonissa* (Zurich 1919) pp. 222ff, nos. 321–328, Taf. XVII and Textabb. 28, are volute lamps which he dates as pre-Augustan through the Julio-Claudians. They all possess volute nozzles and a handle shield. On p. 223, Abb. 3 is a drawing after a green-glazed lamp from Herculaneum.

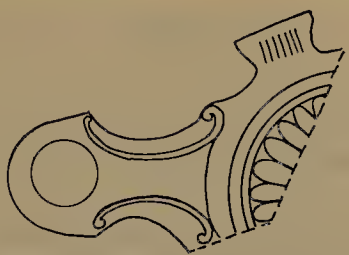[16] Walters, *Catalogue*, pp. XXIV, 124ff, nos. 824–853, pls. XXVI, XXVIII, XLII.

FIG. 2. Corinth Type XXI: Group One
(after Broneer, *Corinth*, no. 383, pl. VIII)

early volute types (fig. 4),[17] or Waldhauer's type IV.[18] Lamps of similar
type have also been found in the Athenian Agora (fig. 5),[19] but like the
other types they possess a round nozzle, flat volute, side lugs, or animal-
head decoration, which are lacking in the form of the McDaniel lamp.
The parallels of size, shoulder profile,[20] and the developed volute

FIG. 3. Corinth Type XXI: Group Two
(after Broneer, *Corinth*, no. 409, pl. IX)

[17] H. Menzel, *Antike Lampen in Römisch-Germanischen Zentralsmuseum zu
Mainz* (Mainz 1954) p. 25, assigns two groups of double-volute lamps, as does
Broneer. The first group would be derived from Hellenistic prototypes, and the
second would correspond with Loeschcke's type III. I illustrate no 82, p. 26,
Abb. 25.4 (our fig. 4) for comparison with the McDaniel nozzle. This is a very
small lamp (L: 0.15 m., W: 0.092 m.) with less well-developed nozzles.
[18] Waldhauer, *Ermitage*, p. 36, no. 220, p. 40, pl. XXII.
[19] Perlzweig, *Agora*, no. 16, p. 73, pl. 2 (our fig. 5) parallels Broneer's group
one (our fig. 2) but is probably earlier than the McDaniel form. It is the closest
parallel I could find from the Agora.
[20] Both Broneer (p. 74, fig. 34) and Loeschcke (p. 213, Abb. 2) show cross
sections of discus profiles. The McDaniel cross section would seem to parallel
the earliest series of profiles, which have a sharp inclination and a small band
at the outermost diameter.

FIG. 4. Menzel, Early Volute Type
(after Menzel, *Antike Lampen*, no. 82, Abb. 25.4)

nozzle [21] suggest that the piece is indeed a product of the first decades of the first century A.D. The closest parallel in nozzle shape can be found at Corinth in a lamp with single nozzle (fig. 6).[22]

FIG. 5. Athenian Agora Volute Lamp
(after Perlzweig, *Athenian Agora*, no. 16, pl. 2)

The decorative cycles will also be instructive in considering the date and use of the lamp. As previously stated, the discus decoration consists of gladiatorial armor. In a clockwise sweep are a pair of greaves, a pair of arm guards,[23] a long rectangular shield, short sword, crested helmet,
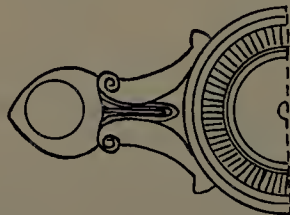
FIG. 6. Corinth Type XXI: Group Two
(after Broneer, *Corinth*, no. 397, fig. 95)

[21] A comparison of Broneer's group one and group two of type XXI (our figs. 2, 3) will point out the developed volute and its prototype.
[22] Broneer, *Corinth*, no. 397, p. 169, fig. 95 (our fig. 6) is the only lamp with the same proportion and swelling nozzle that I could locate.
[23] I have interpreted the objects between the greaves and shield as a pair of wrist guards. I suggest they are different from the complete arm guard which the *retarius* wears in a small bronze statuette in the British Museum (plate II, 2). Perhaps these are the objects described in Walters, *Catalogue of Bronzes: Greek*,

a curved sword, a second shield, and finally a pointed helmet with cheekpieces. The weapons are those of Thracian and Samnite gladiators; I refer the reader to other lamps in the Harvard collections and to the statuettes in the British Museum (plate II, 2) for the various combinations of armor.

In plate VI, 2 a Thracian gladiator wears the greaves and a pointed helmet with cheekpieces while engaging in battle with a curved sword and round shield.[24] A second lamp in the Fogg Art Museum (plate V, 2) shows a Samnite gladiator resting his rectangular shield at his leg and fighting with a straight sword. He wears the crested helmet shown on the McDaniel discus.[25] The wrist guards on this warrior would tend to substantiate the identification of those curious objects on the discus. A final lamp in the Fogg Museum (plate VI, 1) offers a variation on the arms of a Thracian gladiator. The gladiator employs the rectangular shield, although we cannot determine what weapon he used in combat.[26] This lamp is also interesting from a technological aspect because it is a pastiche of two different vessels.[27] We are concerned here with only the discus fragment.

The use of gladiatorial armor displayed on the discus of a lamp is not

---

Roman and Etruscan (London 1899) nos. 2864–2866, p. 351. Mr. D. M. Bailey of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum, in a personal communication, felt that only no. 2864 represented true arm guards for the upper arm and that the rest were abbreviated greaves. The objects on the lamp discus may be for the upper arm or for the wrist. I should like to thank the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities and the Trustees of the British Museum for allowing me to reproduce the photograph of the three gladiators.

[24] Peabody Museum Collection no. E-3474, also an unpublished volute lamp of the first century A.D. For parallels see Waldhauer, *Ermitage*, nos. 195, 196, p. 38, pls. XVIII, XIX; Fremersdorf, *Bildlampen*, type 19, p. 92; Broneer, *Corinth*, no. 424, p. 172, fig. 98.

[25] Fogg Art Museum no. 3219, unpublished. The handle and volute nozzle are not preserved. See Loeschcke, *Vindonissa*, nos. 438, 443, p. 398, pl. X.

[26] Fogg Art Museum no. 3494 is also an unpublished lamp. The weapon raised above the head of the gladiator is not preserved. For parallels see Menzel, *Antike Lampen*, no. 187, p. 39, Abb. 32.5, which shows this type of Thracian gladiator engaged in combat with a second contestant: Loeschcke, *Vindonissa*, nos. 135–136, p. 372, pl. X; Broneer, *Corinth*, no. 425, p. 172, pl. VII; Fremersdorf, *Bildlampen*, type 17, p. 92.

[27] In the routine cleaning of this lamp I noticed that the handle was incorrectly restored and it was removed. The discus fragment had been cut to size and let into the center of another lamp of the blunt-nozzle type. The insert is manufactured with a different clay and a different glaze. The original restorer covered the entire lamp in a mixture of sand, dark earth, and hide glue. The lower part of both legs was molded in this material.

an unfamiliar motif;[28] I illustrate two other examples for comparison. The discus in plate IV, 2 is in the British Museum,[29] and the one in fig. 7 is taken from a lamp in Dresden.[30] The motif seems most popular in the first century A.D. but is not limited to the first five decades. Although the armor has immediate parallels in gladiatorial equipment, another interpretation was suggested to me, the possibility that the motif represents real armor strewn on the battlefield.[31] A display in this

FIG. 7. Discus of a Lamp in Dresden
(after Weikert, p. 17, Abb. 7; see our note 30)

[28] A convenient parallel is found in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts no. 88.575 in a single-nozzle lamp of the first century A.D. Other fields of armor can be found in Loeschcke, *Vindonissa*, nos. 164, 165, p. 374, pl. XI; nos. 457–459, p. 399, pls. XI, XVI; no. 658, p. 416, pl. XI; Walters, *Catalogue*, nos. 561, 562, p. 85, pl. XX; nos. 620–622, p. 94, pl. XX; no. 670, p. 102, pl. XXIII; no. 759, p. 115; no. 807, p. 122; no. 838, p. 127; no. 1389, p. 209; Broneer, *Corinth*, no. 427, p. 173, pl. XXV; no. 534, p. 185, fig. 42; Haken, *Prague National Museum*, 15/55–38, no. 67, p. 68, pl. IX; Menzel, *Antike Lampen*, no. 88, p. 26, Abb. 25.14; Iványi, *Pannonischen Lampen*, no. 5, p. 36, pl. I, 6; nos. 1147, 1148, p. 115, pl. XLIV, 6.

[29] Walters, *Catalogue*, no. 838, p. 127, not illustrated. The discus is much smaller than the McDaniel discus, but there is a close similarity in the weapons (B. M. discus 0.075 m. dia., McDaniel discus 0.133 m. dia.). I should like to thank the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities and the Trustees of the British Museum for allowing me to reproduce this photograph.

[30] After a photograph in C. Weikert, "Gladiatoren-Relief der Münchner Glyptothek," *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 2 (1925) p. 16, Abb. 7.

[31] In discussing the intricacies of the decorative motifs, Professor George M. A. Hanfmann, Professor of Fine Arts, Harvard University, suggested this alternative theory of battle armor employed in a somewhat similar manner as the vehicle of the conquered "provinces" personified on the breastplate of the statue of Augustus of Primaporta. I am greatly indebted to Professor Hanfmann for reading through my manuscript and making some very keen observations on the subject of Augustan art.

manner can be found on silver plate[32] and coinage.[33] To find exact parallels of the armor in real arms is a more difficult task, but one should not discount the use of a stock motif to suggest another motif. From an economic point of view, the one mold would be ready at hand, whereas the other would need to be designed and executed. One cannot assert or deny this possibility; it is merely pointed out for the reader to evaluate.

With the decoration of the handle shield, a very immediate question must be considered. Is there an interrelation between the scene on the discus and that on the shield? All the lamps of comparable size known to me are decorated with more abstract motifs of large rosettes or tongue and groove on the discus. The handle shield is usually in the form of a palmette or has some type of raised leaf pattern.[34] Smaller double-spouted volute lamps of later date and lesser quality have stock patterns of unrelated subjects.[35] The presence of two figural scenes on the McDaniel lamp would seem to indicate a rare, if not unique, example of this particular size. With this problem in mind, consider the scene on the handle shield.

The figure of a Victory carrying a *tropaeum*, shield, and cornucopia is not a very common motif in Roman art. Far more popular was the Victory with wreath and palm standing on top of a globe.[36] In his comprehensive study of Roman Victories, Tonio Hölscher has devoted a section to Victories carrying shields.[37] He cites the Victory with

[32] D. E. Strong, *Greek and Roman Silver Plate* (New York 1966) p. 171, pl. 47b, the handle of a silver dish in the Metropolitan Museum of Art which shows armor lying about a *tropaeum* with a barbarian tied to it. There are indentations which suggest the terrain. This is a piece of the second century A.D. See *BMMA* 14 (1955–1956) pp. 64ff.

[33] The motif is struck on coins of Nero Claudius Drusus during the time of Claudius. See H. Mattingly and E. A. Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage* (London 1923) vol. 1, Augustus to Vitellius, no. 78, p. 131, pl. VIII, 127.

[34] See figures 2, 3, 5, and 6 of this article.

[35] The majority of smaller double-spouted volute lamps seem to combine a scene on the discus with a foliage pattern on the handle shield; see Menzel, *Antike Lampen*, no. 82, p. 26, Abb. 25.4. Less common are the lamps which combine two scenes of seemingly unrelated subjects. Walters, *Catalogue*, no. 826, p. 124, fig. 150, depicts Europa on the bull in the discus and a bust of Serapis on the handle shield. A more striking example of unrelated subjects is seen in the same collection, no. 832, p. 126, pl. XXVIII, where the discus shows Heracles attacking the Nemean Lion and the handle shield depicts the Egyptian goddess Safekh and Harpocrates. These smaller lamps produced in a multitude of workshops for household use would lend themselves to a flourish of popular motifs which were perhaps interchangeable within master molds.

[36] I refer the reader to the small double-spouted lamp in the Peabody Museum Collection shown in plate 11, 1b; see n. 7.

[37] Hölscher, *Victoria Romana* (cited above, n. 6).

clupeus virtutis of Early Augustan date and compares it with the series of
New Year's lamps which are also dated to that same period and bear
the inscription OB CIVES SERV(ATOS).[38] Propaganda coinage of
Augustus employs the *clupeus virtutis* as well as a Victory carrying the
clupeus virtutis in a variety of types.[39]

A closely allied discus scene is found on a lamp in the British Museum
which shows two small Victories supporting a wreathed shield above a
burning altar.[40] The altar is flanked by two trees, and the shield is in-
scribed OB CIVES SERVATOS. Hölscher is quite correct in attribut-
ing this scene to an Augustan theme, since the *clupeus* with flanking
laurels can be paralleled in Augustan coinage.[41] The reader will recall
that laurels were planted in front of Augustus' house in 27 B.C. The altar
would suggest the worship of his genius, and the inscription on the
shield would allude to the fact that by ending the Civil Wars he saved
many citizens' lives.[42]

The worship of the genius of Augustus was already associated with
the Domestic Lares in 30 B.C.,[43] and Hölscher cites another lamp discus
to explain this association further. A line drawing of a discus in the
British Museum[44] depicts a scene similar to that of the McDaniel
handle shield. The Lares are drawn as carrying lamps on their heads, a
symbol which would relate to the service of the cult of Augustus' genius
and the Domestic Lares. In Hölscher's interpretation, the Victory would
represent the Augustan rule, carrying the symbols of prosperity and
peace. The eagle finial standard would symbolize the return of the
standards by Phraates in 20 B.C.,[45] and the shield could only be the
clupeus virtutis.[46]

---

[38] Hölscher, *Victoria*, pp. 108–109, Victory with the *clupeus virtutis*, Taf.
13.2, and Menzel, *Antike Lampen*, no. 207; for Victories on New Year's lamps,
Taf. 13.5, Bachofen, *Grablampen*, Taf. 12.4, or Walters, *Catalogue* (above, n. 6).

[39] C. H. V. Sutherland, *Coinage in Roman Imperial Policy* (London 1951);
for *clupeus virtutis* on obverse, see p. 37, pl. III, 12; for Victory holding *clupeus
virtutis*, p. 38, pl. III, 11. For a variant of the Victory with *clupeus* see Mattingly,
Imperial Coinage, no. 244, p. 83, pl. II, 27. Hölscher, *Victoria*, Taf. 11.3, 11.8,
shows two other variations on Victories with *clupeus virtutis*.

[40] Hölscher, *Victoria*, p. 109, Taf. 13.3, or Walters, *Catalogue*, no. 649, p.
98, pl. XXII; Menzel, *Antike Lampen*, no. 130, p. 34, Abb. 27.23; Waldhauer,
Ermitage, no. 211, p. 39, pl. XX; Loeschcke, *Vindonissa*, no. 168, p. 374, Taf. XI.

[41] See Sutherland, *Coinage*, p. 37, pl. III, 9.

[42] *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* 34.

[43] Hölscher, *Victoria*, p. 109 n. 683.

[44] *Ibid.*, p. 109, Taf. 13.4; Walters, *Catalogue*, no. 1372, p. 206, fig. 316.

[45] *Res Gestae* 29; Suet. *Aug.* 21; Livy *Ep.* 141; Dio 54.8.1–2.

[46] Hölscher, *Victoria*, p. 109.

It is unusual for such a symbol to be used on the discus; the more common standard is represented both on the cuirass of the statue of Augustus of Primaporta and on Augustan coinage in association with the *clupeus*.[47] Why then should the standard on the British Museum discus be represented as a rather "owlish"-looking eagle?[48] Hölscher has published a photograph of the actual discus; comparing this scene with the McDaniel handle shield will reveal that the British Museum Victory carries a *tropaeum* exactly like that of the McDaniel Victory. The "eagle body" is actually a cuirass, the "wings" are shields, and the faint pointed head is the helmet. The identification could not have been made without Hölscher's valuable new photograph; nevertheless, the *tropaeum* would not have symbolized the Roman standards returned by Phraates.

Since I have never seen the British Museum discus, perhaps this new identification will prompt renewed investigation of the scene. It is not possible to study the Lares in Hölscher's photograph, but it would be interesting to see if they really carry lighted lamps or if they merely lift *rhyta* above their heads in the standard gesture of offering. The other variations between the two scenes are of minor importance. The British Museum scene has a decorated shield and a garland on the altar. Both of these decorative elements are lacking on the McDaniel handle shield. Fruit flows from the cornucopia in the British Museum discus, whereas foliage springs from that of the McDaniel vessel.

A final comparison will help to assure the identification and indicate the popularity of the motif. A bowl of the Calene-ware type was acquired by the Römisch-Germanisches Zentral-Museum, Mainz, in 1927, and the medallion decoration exactly parallels that of the McDaniel

[47] Sutherland, *Coinage*, p. 38, pl. III, 13 obverse is struck *Spqr*, with a standard and shield inscribed *clu*. For examples of popular standard see Mattingly, *Coinage*, nos. 98, 122, p. 70, pl. I, 3 and 7, showing Parthians presenting standard. A second type of standard, a *vexillum*, is also employed; see Mattingly, *ibid.*, no. 175, p. 77, pl. II, 25, for Gaul with *vexillum*; no. 319, p. 87, pl. II, 36, for Mars with *vexillum*. Hölscher, *Victoria*, Taf. I, 2, shows a Victory standing on a globe with wreath and *vexillum*.

[48] A coin of Titus possibly minted at Ephesus does have a single eagle on a standard with placard below and wreath above, but the type is quite different and it lies flanked by two regular standards; see Mattingly, *Coinage* (vol. 2, Vespasian to Hadrian) no. 74, p. 125, pl. III, 56.

handle shield.[49] Although the fabric and glaze imitate a Hellenistic ware, the decoration is dated by Zahn to the last decades of the first century B.C. His date is based on a parallel of the helmet atop the *tropaeum* in this medallion to armor on a clay *trulla* in Berlin.[50]

The complexity of the scene and its use in these minor objects would suggest a prototype which was copied in small relief molds and retouched after original casting. There is no way to trace how widely the motif was distributed or how long it was used. The fact that the McDaniel lamp is said to be from Asia Minor may give some insight into the problem.

Depending on the acceptance of one or more of the explanations set forth in this article, the reader may form his own interpretation of the decorative sequence of the McDaniel lamp. If one does not feel that there is a relationship between the two figural scenes, then the interpretation must rest as nothing more than two popular scenes frequently stamped out during the course of lamp manufacture. I do not feel that this is the case.

The second alternative is whether or not the scene is a definite Augustan allegory. The third element in the interpretation is the armor in the discus; is it gladiatorial or real battle armor? If the scene is indeed that of an Augustan allegory and the arms are battle armor, then the scene on the handle shield must have some association with a recent victory symbolized by the Victory with the *tropaeum*. The symbols of virtue and prosperity, the *clupeus virtutis* and the cornucopia, seem incompatible unless viewed in the light of a major battle which would herald the Pax Augusta, thus recalling the battle at Actium. Such an ambitious piece may have been dedicated on the occasion of the Emperor's birthday. If the arms were gladiatorial, then perhaps this is a dedication in connection with a series of games given in honor of some Augustan celebration. This may have been the personal dedication of the provincial magistrate (the lamp is said to be from Asia Minor) who paid for the cost of the games.

If the shield scene is not specifically an Augustan scene, but more of a general allusion to Victory, then perhaps the shield is to be interpreted as resting on the altar (and not carried by the Victory).[51] The round

[49] Fr. Behn, "Ausgewahlte Neuerwerbungen des Römisch-Germanischen Central-Museums an Original-Altertümern in den Jahren 1914–1926," *Festschrift zur Feier des fünfundsiebzig jahrigen Bestehens des Römisch-Germanischen Central-Museums zu Mainz* (Mainz 1927) p. 105, Taf. 8.4.

[50] Zahn, "Eine Tonpfanne im Antiquarium," *Amt. Ber. aus. den kgl. Kunstsamml.* 30 (1909) p. 263, Abb. 157.

[51] As in the British Museum example in n. 6 above.

shield and the *tropaeum* might refer to the god Mars Ultor. He is often depicted on lamps as striding with a spear and *tropaeum*.[52] The shield scene combined with the battle armor on the discus may represent a dedication to Victory; the cornucopia would allude to the spoils of war. If the armor is gladiatorial in nature,[53] then perhaps this is a dedication of a provincial magistrate paying for a series of gladiatorial games. The handle-shield scene would allude to the patron god Mars Ultor as well as to Victory in the individual contests.

The ultimate acceptance of the interpretation must lie with the reader, but the last interpretation, after considering the available evidence, seems to me the most plausible at this time. Although Augustan elements are surely present, the variations on the themes are such as to caution one against assigning the decorative sequence of the McDaniel lamp as an Augustan allegory. The size, the placement of the decoration, and what I believe is a unique interconnection between the two decorative cycles make the lamp an important and illustrative addition to the McDaniel Collection of Classical Antiquities Illustrating Greek and Roman Life.[54]

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

---

[52] Menzel, *Antike Lampen*, no. 174, p. 38, Abb. 31.2; no. 340, p. 59, Abb. 48.1 carries a spear and a *tropaeum* while clad in a helmet and loincloth; Perlzweig, *Agora*, no. 58, p. 77, pl. 3.

[53] I am inclined to interpret the armor as gladiatorial arms.

[54] I am grateful to Professor Herbert Bloch and Professor G. W. Bowersock of the Department of the Classics, Harvard University, for discussing the Augustan interpretation of the lamp with me. I am especially indebted to Professor D. G. Mitten, Associate Professor of Fine Arts, Harvard University, for giving so freely of his time in editing this article and offering many helpful suggestions. The writer must assume the responsibility for the figures in the text. They are drawn freehand, and the original texts and plates should be consulted for verification of any inconsistency. There is no relative scale between figures; consult footnotes for source and dimensions when needed.

SUMMARIES OF DISSERTATIONS FOR THE DEGREE OF PH.D.

Ivars Avotins — *A Commentary to the Life of Herodes in the* Lives of the Sophists *of Philostratus*

THIS dissertation is part of a proposed commentary on the *Lives of the Sophists* of Philostratus. In its present form it deals chiefly with historical, economic, and social questions. Problems of language, text, and literary composition have been left untreated unless such treatment seemed to be required to deal properly with the subject matter of the commentary.

Although most of the commentary inevitably consists of collection and arrangement of work done by others, attempts have been made to clarify or reinterpret their conclusions or to notice the significance of evidence previously overlooked. A summary is given here of the chief passages containing (in the writer's opinion) some novelty of interpretation. The numbers at the beginning of each passage refer to the paragraphs of the *Lives of the Sophists* of Philostratus.

2.1.2, 547. An attempt has been made here to show that the enormous wealth of Atticus cannot easily be explained by assuming that his father Hipparchus had been able before his conviction to conceal a substantial part of his fortune in a house in Athens owned by Atticus. It is unlikely that the Emperor Domitian, skilled at confiscations, could easily have been circumvented. Furthermore, the enormous weight of a sufficiently large treasure of gold or silver coins would have made all hasty transport conspicuous and exposed to the denunciation of the carters or even of the bystanders. It is suggested that Atticus may have recovered some of his father's assets at the time when Nerva is attested to have restituted the property of returned exiles.

2.1.3, 549. That Atticus, the father of Herodes, may have held the office of archibacchus in the society of the Iobacchi is argued here.

2.1.4, 549. According to accepted opinion, Atticus in his will left his huge gift to the Athenians in the form of a fideicommissum. A closer study

of the text combined with legal and linguistic considerations seems to show that the bequest of Atticus was a legacy rather than a fideicommissum.

2.1.5, 549. A reinterpretation of the text of Philostratus, both linguistic and logical, leads one to the conclusion that the Panathenaic agonothesia of Herodes must be dated four years later than is commonly assumed.

2.1.5, 550. By adducing a passage of Strattis, the Attic writer of comedy, how the Panathenaic ship could be said to have been propelled by a thousand oars has been explained.

2.1.5, 551. Additional arguments are adduced for dating the completion of Herodes' Olympian exedra to the Olympic Games of A.D. 153. Also, two letters from the correspondence of Fronto are interpreted to suggest that all the children of Herodes (or at least his sons) whose names are known may have been born after c. A.D. 145.

2.1.7, 552. A discussion of previous scholarship on Agathion, the Heracles of Herodes, makes it likely that the young giant was a real person and not impossibly a Cynic.

2.1.9, 556. This note contains a discussion of the possible identities of the philosophers Musonius and Lucius. It appears that Lucius was too young to have been a disciple of the only known Musonius, the Roman Stoic. Since for several reasons a second Musonius should not be postulated, a mistake on the part of Philostratus must be assumed.

2.1.10, 557. Additional reasons are given here for the assumption that the two children surviving the death of Regilla were Elpinice and Atticus Bradua rather than Regillus and Atticus Bradua. Also, by dating with good probability the prefecture of Rome of Erucius Clarus to 146 B.C., more confirmation is offered that Aulus Gellius was born c. A.D. 130–132.

2.1.10, 558. After a study of the names of Bradua, the polyonymous proconsul of Africa, it is suggested that, contrary to previous assumptions, his names are best accounted for by assuming that he was a son of Herodianus, the brother of Herodes Atticus, and of an unattested sister of Regilla.

It is also suggested that, despite the prevailing opinion, the proconsul of Asia Marcus Atilius Bradua held that office after the reign of Marcus

Aurelius rather than under Domitian. Whether this man was the son of Herodes or a later descendant cannot be established with certainty.

2.1.10, 558. In this note it is argued that there is no reason for the common assumption that the three τρόφιμοι of Herodes, Polydeucion, Memnon, and Achilleus, must have died before A.D. 147–148. Only the death of Polydeucion must be placed that early. In this connection the established date of the Athenian archonship of Dionysius is strengthened by a new argument based on the probable age of Herodes' mother, Vibullia Alcia. It is also shown that none of the three τρόφιμοι seems to have died in childhood. Consequently, the boy whom Herodes mourned in Athens during the visit of Aulus Gellius must have been his youngest son Regillus.

2.1.10, 559. After an argument in favor of the early 170's A.D. as the year for the Quintilii brothers' magistracies in Greece, passages from Cassius Dio and epigraphical evidence are adduced to show that it was Condianus who must have been corrector of Achaea; Valerius Maximus, the proconsul of Asia c. A.D. 165, was his comes.

2.1.11, 559. It is argued that the Demostratus defended by Fronto c. A.D. 165 could have been C. Claudius Titianus Demostratus, the proconsul of Crete and Cyrene in A.D. 165.

2.1.11, 561. An explanation is offered here of the unexpected rudeness of Herodes to Marcus Aurelius in his plea at Sirmium.

2.1.14, 564. This passage contains a discussion of the meaning of the rhetorical term κρότος (not recognized as such in Liddell and Scott) and the difference in its meaning from that of ἠχώ and ἦχος.

2.1.14, 565. Some scholars have assumed that the sophistic διαλέξεις did not arise before the second century A.D. It is shown from Pliny the Younger that the sophist Isaeus, well known in the first century A.D., was already in the habit of declaiming them.

2.1.14, 565. New arguments are considered against Herodes' authorship of the speech περὶ πολιτείας.

2.1.15, 565. The upper and lower limits for the date of Herodes' birth have been thoroughly discussed; the possible years appear to be A.D. 100–104.

Jᴀᴍᴇs Rᴏʙᴇʀᴛ Bʀᴀᴅʟᴇʏ — *The Sources of Cornelius Nepos: Selected Lives*

For two generations the prevailing view on the sources of Cornelius Nepos has been that of Friedrich Leo, expressed in his well-known and still remarkable work *Die griechisch-römische Biographie*. Simply stated, Leo's position was that, although Nepos employed historical sources in writing his Roman *vitae*, in composing the lives of illustrious Greeks he relied not on histories but on already existing biographies which have not survived. In making this claim he echoed the slightly earlier conclusion of Eduard Meyer (in the second volume of his *Forschungen zur alten Geschichte*) that the biographies of Nepos, like those of Plutarch, are descendants of a literary heritage that had its origin in the Hellenistic period and through which all that was of biographical interest was transmitted to later times. Moreover, as further evidence of the Latin author's dependence on these supposed *biographische Gewährsmänner*, Leo pointed to the absence of any trace either of Herodotus or of Xenophon's *Hellenica* in the *de ducibus* and argued that the haste and carelessness (*Flüchtigkeit*) evident in the work precluded the possibility of Nepos' having taken the trouble to consult original sources even if (as other scholars have doubted) they were available to him.

Examination of the lives, however, reveals a preponderant derivation from a few fifth- and fourth-century Greek authors — for the most part historians, and all of them standard authorities. Indeed, of the nine *vitae* selected for treatment the *Themistocles* and *Pausanias* obviously depend on Ephorus and Thucydides' biographical excursus on the two at the end of his first book; the three short lives, the *Iphicrates*, *Chabrias*, and *Timotheus*, draw on Ephorus — supplemented in each of the former two cases by a single citation from Theopompus used to set off the concluding chapter and in the last case by material contained in the eulogy of Timotheus in Isocrates' *Antidosis*: the *Epaminondas* for all its resemblance to a rhetorical ἐγκώμιον certainly relies, at least in part, on Ephorus and Callisthenes, as does its companion piece the *Pelopidas*; the *Agesilaus*, structured round the two narrative chapters of Xenophon's *Agesilaus* and incorporating some notices from the rest of this work, otherwise includes only a few details from Ephorus and in the final chapter an effective "purple passage" from Theopompus; and, finally, the *Eumenes* (according to Leo a poor biographical relation of its counterpart in Plutarch's collection) clearly reflects direct use of Hieronymus of Cardia.

Indeed, in addition to the abundance of close verbal parallels that have survived a supposed transmission through biographical intermediaries, Nepos' lives uniformly (with the possible exception of the

Epaminondas) share with these sources a singular concentration on the events and deeds of a hero's career and a close adherence to chronological arrangement. Also, the praise or blame accorded individuals or their actions, while a predilection of the Latin author, consistently reflects the judgment and rhetorical manner of the source that has been excerpted. And finally, the frequent error and confusion that mark the lives and no doubt arise from Nepos' haste and carelessness (which are only too readily apparent) are in almost all cases attributable to a misuse of the original sources and certainly more credible as the result of *Flüchtigkeit* in abridging and adapting the latter rather than supposed biographical informants, which presumably would have been more manageable.

Furthermore, as for the contention that the works whose use is evident in the lives (indeed, Thucydides, Theopompus, and Xenophon's *Agesilaus* are actually cited by name) were unlikely sources of information for the Roman author or not accessible to him: the particular appeal of these sources for a biographer of Nepos' rhetorical and moralizing inclinations, the familiarity of Thucydides, Theopompus, and Xenophon's biography to educated Romans of his day, and the use of Ephorus (whose general history provided the "vulgate" tradition well into the time of the Roman Empire) and Hieronymus (the principal authority for the fifty years following the death of Alexander) by his contemporaries Diodorus and Pompeius Trogus render it difficult to maintain in the case of a man who was the client of T. Pomponius Atticus and, through him, a member of a privileged circle.

In short, although individual arguments may not furnish conclusive proof, the accumulative evidence compellingly indicates in the nine lives treated a direct relationship between Nepos and the sources specified, and in the absence of any trace of the Hellenistic intermediaries on which he is supposed to depend we must reject the hypothesis of *biographische Gewährsmänner* as not only gratuitous but also in conflict with the evidence.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY   Degree in Classical Philology 1968

GUIDO DONINI — *The Attitude of Thucydides to the Government of the Five Thousand*

The point of departure of this study is Thucydides' praise of the regime of the Five Thousand in 8.97.2: καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα δὴ τὸν πρῶτον χρόνον ἔπί γε ἐμοῦ Ἀθηναῖοι φαίνονται εὖ πολιτεύσαντες. μετρία γὰρ ἥτε,

ἐς τοὺς ὀλίγους καὶ τοὺς πολλοὺς ξύγκρασις ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐκ πονηρῶν τῶν πραγμάτων γενομένων τοῦτο πρῶτον ἀνήνεγκε τὴν πόλιν. This opinion appears at first sight to be in conflict with the historian's great approval of Periclean democracy. The study attempts to analyze the significance of 8.97.2, explain the reason for Thucydides' praise of the Five Thousand, and show that his attitude to the regime is essentially in agreement with his view of Athenian democracy in the time of Pericles, a regime which (with reference to the last fifteen years or so of its existence) he most probably still considered superior to any other.

The first chapter begins with a discussion of the way in which certain expressions in 8.97.2 should be interpreted. It is argued that τὸν πρῶτον χρόνον means "in the first period" and not "for the first time," and that εὖ πολιτεύσαντες refers primarily to the government in general and not to the constitution. Thus the apparent contrast with the Periclean regime is not so emphatic as it might be taken to be. That a comparison between the government of 411–410 and Periclean democracy is not paramount in 8.97.2 seems confirmed by the consideration that the words τὸν πρῶτον χρόνον probably do not suggest a change for the worse in the course of the regime of the Five Thousand but refer to its entire duration in contrast to the democracy restored in 410, which saw a resumption of the struggle between factions and several grievous errors on the part of Athens.

The remainder of the first chapter deals with the nature of the constitution of the Five Thousand. Although the more commonly held theory suggests that it was a broad form of oligarchy, some of the scholars who follow this view allow that in certain constitutional aspects the regime could have been very similar to full democracy. It is pointed out, for instance, that meetings of the *ekklesia* were held after the one which established the Five Thousand and that all citizens were perhaps allowed to attend them. De Ste. Croix's theory that the regime was a moderate democracy (with oligarchic elements), in which all Athenians exercised their full sovereignty in the assembly (but might not be elected to office unless they belonged to the Five Thousand), is fully accepted. Other evidence which seems to confirm the democratic character of the regime, particularly from Book 8, is discussed.

The second chapter compares the historian's opinion of the Five Thousand with his attitude to the two main stages of democratic government in Athens in his lifetime. By examining the passages in the *History* dealing with Athens under Pericles, one derives the impression that Thucydides greatly admired his regime (at least the last fifteen years of it) for the way in which it exhibited ξύγκρασις and led to prosperity

and power. The Athenians generally managed to forget their differences
and unite under Pericles' leadership for the success of the ξύμπασα πόλις.
Any weaknesses in Periclean democracy appear insignificant by com-
parison, and through his consciousness of its virtues Thucydides seems
to place it above the government of the Five Thousand.

On the other hand, he also stresses the disunity prevailing in Athens
after Pericles' death. The distance separating conservative from radical
democrats grows wider, and the masses are often at variance with
generals elected and sent out by them. There is no outstanding and
disinterested leader, and the selfishness of opposing politicians seems to
apply to Nicias no less than to Cleon and Alcibiades. Unity is only on
the surface. The breakdown of ξύγκρασις is traced in its various stages
from the debate on Mytilene to the episode of Pylos and Sphacteria, the
Sicilian expedition, and the revolution of the Four Hundred. From the
emphasis given by Thucydides to the weakening of Athenian power after
429 because of internal disunity, it becomes clearer why he praised so
much the government of 445–429 and that of 411–410.

The historian's attitude to democracy as such is next studied in order
to see whether there might be any reason why he should prefer a
modified democracy to full democracy under Pericles. He clearly
distinguishes the democracy of the ξύμπασα πόλις, where there is majority
rule and where political importance is based on merit, and the democracy
where the masses, especially their more radical elements, have a
preponderant influence which does not serve the best interests of the
city as a whole. This twofold division is examined, and the conclusion is
reached that Thucydides disliked only the latter type of democracy,
which did not exist before Pericles' death. It is argued that the Funeral
Oration, with its description and praise of the good type of democracy,
and its stress on freedom — a theme occurring elsewhere in the *History*
— reflects Thucydides' own views. The freedom and creativity of the
Athenians must have been considered by the historian to have been
greater in the time of Pericles than in the regime of the Five Thousand.
Other arguments are advanced which tend to show that Thucydides
was friendly to democracy and firmly opposed to oligarchy.

In the third chapter the problem of the date of composition of the
History is considered for the bearing which it has on the difficulty of
8.97.2. Book 8 could have been written very shortly after 410 and with-
out any revision at the end of the war, when Thucydides wrote 2.65
and other late passages showing praise for Periclean Athens. If Book 8
dates from the years between 410 and 404, the solution of the apparent
conflict between the two views of democracy could also be resolved.

Ways are suggested whereby the praise of the Five Thousand might be squared with 2.65 even if it was expressed in writing after 404.

Some other possible explanations are given in the second part of the chapter. Thucydides' thoughts about democracy probably fluctuated as the war progressed, though, it is argued, they were always in the framework of his admiration for Pericles, to whom he must have been converted as a youth. The death of Pericles, Athenian mistakes, the historian's long exile, his contact with oligarchs, and his isolation, all help to explain the state of mind in which he wrote 8.97.2. It is possible that he considered the Five Thousand preferable to Periclean democracy only on paper. In any case, he was more interested in leading personalities than in constitutions as such, and he could have meant that, of all the periods of Athenian government without a statesman like Pericles to provide leadership, the regime of the Five Thousand was indeed the best. A new interpretation of ἐπί γε ἐμοῦ is offered, according to which the words refer to the period of Thucydides' life subsequent to the death of Pericles, corresponding roughly to his activity as a historian and to his intellectual maturity. A new meaning is also suggested for οὐχ ἥκιστα.

In conclusion, though obscurity remains, Thucydides' antithetical way of thinking and his historical sense go a long way in reconciling praise of the Five Thousand with admiration for the Periclean government.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY   Degree in Classical Philology 1966

TUDOR GARDINER — *Terms for Power in Thucydides*

This dissertation is chiefly concerned with the words *dynamis*, "power"; *ischys*, "force"; *kratos*, "overwhelming might" or "sovereignty"; their related verbs and adjectives; and other associated words and concepts in Thucydides. The relative scarcity of some of these terms in earlier authors compared with their abundance in Thucydides has been insufficiently noted. The distribution of ranges of meaning necessarily varies over different parts of speech. Study of the terms in the light of this fact and with regard not only to the question of who holds the power but what type of power is meant or implied, whose point of view is expressed, and to what audience, develops new and interesting conclusions, some of which are as follows.

Dynamis is not used by Thucydides in the technical senses which seem to begin with Alcmaeon, Democritus, and the Hippocratic corpus

and to proliferate in Plato. As J. de Romilly has observed, this word and
ischys are far more frequent in Thucydides than in Herodotus, who is less
concerned with the analysis of power than Thucydides and tends to
speak of great power in an earlier and more poetic manner with clusters
of words rather than the plain designations to which Thucydides re-
stricts himself. The most important implications of *dynamis* as found
in Thucydides are ability; influence or prestige; wealth, to a greater
degree than many have supposed; and some sort of transcendent great-
ness. The plural of the adjective is regularly used to designate an oli-
garchic faction elsewhere than at Athens. Aside from this use, and
from neutral expressions of capability or practicability, words related
to *dynamis* seem to be used favorably or at least respectfully.

The terms used for the oligarchic faction at Athens indicate that the
conspiracy of 411 B.C. grew from recent roots, as other evidence, in-
cluding statements by Thucydides, indicates. He recounts the develop-
ment of the conspiracy from individuals and does not think of that
faction as a previously existing homogeneous group.

The word *ischys* implies, usually, immediately available fighting
force. *Ischyros*, violent, occurs in connection with the plague and earth-
quakes. It is common in the Hippocratic writings to express intensity.
It is avoided by Thucydides in his account of the troubles at Corcyra,
as is *dynatos*. In some passages it has the relatively passive meaning of
"secure" or "safe," as of a strong geographical position, and in some
descriptions of a state of affairs it is not clear whether Thucydides means
strenuousness or security.

The term *kratos* means "overwhelming might," or, occasionally,
"(mere) sovereignty." There can be a touch of ambiguity in the ex-
pression *kata kratos*, "with all one's might," or, "with overwhelming
might." The noun *thalassokratia* is not found in Thucydides, although
the concept is extensively discussed. Compounds of this sort, such as
naukratores, are not to be found in the first four books, although
Herodotus had used them, and one appears twice, the first time with a
definition, in the Old Oligarch. They appear in the account of the Melian
affair and of the Sicilian Expedition, in quotations or expressions of
feeling. This would seem to indicate that in Thucydides' opinion they
became popular catchwords at about this time and thus that he is
reporting actual usage, to express a mood of overconfidence.

The word *alke* is found to appear only in speeches attributed to
Peloponnesians and in formulaic phrases expressing the reactions
of Peloponnesians. It seems likely that Thucydides took the term as
a Peloponnesian catchword. Consideration of the instances in the light

11*

of these facts and of its use in Homer, Tyrtaeus, and Herodotus, serves to justify retention of the term in one case where the text is disputed (2.87.4) and to clarify the meaning of Thucydides in the various passages.

Parallels between Thucydides and the Hippocratic writings have been often discussed. In Thucydides a similar effort to achieve a scientific approach is certainly to be noted from the turns of phrase and thought, with appropriate variations. However, certain differences such as the avoidance of *ischyros* in connection with the *stasis* at Corcyra and the avoidance by the author of *Epidem.* 1 and 3 of the frequent Thucydidean term *dynamis* are more suggestive evidence of some contact between the authors and a conscious effort to organize a discriminating vocabulary.

The careful use of a limited number of terms by Thucydides must be remarked. His account of the development of power is well understood, but the importance he attaches to the achievement and reasonable use of overwhelming power has been neglected. Power that produces power is approved, power that is overextended or unreasonably exercised and results in collapse is condemned. Among individuals, including demagogues, oligarchs, Nicias, Antiphon, Themistocles, Alcibiades, and Brasidas, the constructive qualities and the self-destructive or self-deceiving qualities may be distinguished. Anomalies in the treatment of Alcibiades by Thucydides in his use of terms for power may assist speculation on how Thucydides would have handled matters if he had completed the work.

Thucydides presents a monumental, unchanging figure of Pericles. This figure is connected by various features of his terminology with the good points of other outstanding figures. Pericles is the focus of Thucydides' thoughts on the dangers of illusion and display, the power of prestige and present fact, the importance of foresight, the perils of the incalculable, and the inevitable clashes and tensions of unequal forces of various kinds under human nature. In him Thucydides portrays the right use of greatness.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY   Degree in Classical Philology 1968

ROBERT JEFFERSON GOAR — *Cicero and the State Religion*

The present dissertation attempts to define Cicero's attitude toward the Roman state religion, the main features and history of which are sketched in the first chapter. This summary finds Roman religion to be an integral part of the state machinery. It was essentially prosaic, authori-

tarian, and legalistic, with an attractive façade that owed much to the assimilation of native Roman gods to the more colorful Greek deities, and to the introduction of Greek-influenced rites and festivals. In Cicero's era, feeling with regard to the official religion, particularly among the members of the upper classes, is seen to be a mixture of scepticism and indifference, combined with a certain residue of patriotic and conservative sentiment which insisted on the maintaining of tradition. There is reason to believe that the broad masses of the people were less sceptical.

In the orations, Cicero projects the image of a *religiosissimus homo*. His pronouncements on religion are positive and authoritative. In the Catilinarian speeches, he forcefully presents himself to the people as the agent of the gods, through whom they have worked to save Rome from destruction. He appeals strongly to the superstitious regard of the multitude for omens and oracles, in order to win their support. In the Senate, however, he appeals not to belief but to reverence for the institutions of Roman religion, which he claims Catiline and his associates intended to destroy. In the speech *De Domo Sua*, Cicero appeals to the pontiffs' interest by expressing concern for the integrity of Roman religion, violated in act by Clodius' illegal adoption and neglect of *sacra*, and in essence by Clodius' attempt to use the rite of consecration as a weapon against a personal enemy. In the final section of the speech, he champions the ethical values inherent in religion against the claims of mere ritual correctness. In *De Haruspicum Responso*, Cicero was forced by circumstances to speak of *haruspicina* in the Senate as though he believed in it, although he did not, as he makes plain in *De Divinatione* 2. The main purpose of the speech is to justify the orator's new political stance vis-à-vis the Triumvirate, now strengthened after the meeting at Luca. The speech is seen to be a reply to certain *responsa* aimed at Cicero, or at his wing of the Optimate party, by the ultra-conservative *haruspices*. In the speeches against Catiline, and in the *De Domo*, Cicero was able to demonstrate *inter alia* what its religion should mean to Rome; but in *HR*, the self-serving purpose is evident, so that the pronouncements on religion have an exaggerated, somewhat insincere, ring to them. In all the orations examined, Cicero's attitude toward Roman religion is that of the champion and defender of its ritual and beliefs, as well as that of its interpreter. There is evidence of a strong attachment to the institution. However, his utterances on the subject are usually geared to the beliefs and interests of his audience, in accordance with the principles laid down in the oratorical treatises. He is always aware of the rhetorical usefulness of religion.

In the second book of the constitutional work *De Legibus*, Cicero affirms every aspect of the inherited religion, including augury and haruspicy. He admits the existence of certain abuses, and desires to strengthen the connection between religion and morality. In *De Divinatione* 2, however, Cicero exposes augury, haruspicy, and Sibylline Oracles as a politically useful fraud. The book is not regarded as an attack on the state religion, for its more rational tenets — existence of the gods, their concern for men, and so on — are repeatedly affirmed. Moreover, Cicero insists that all rites are to be retained. Nor is the work regarded as merely a presentation of opposing views on the truth of prophecy; strong ridicule of official as well as private forms of divination, candid intimations about Cicero's own use of omens and oracles in speeches and poetry, and the fervor of the closing section indicate that its purpose is polemical, not expository. *De Divinatione* is defined as a humane and rational protest against superstition in which Cicero, for the sake of consistency, is willing to express his real view of augury, haruspicy, and Sibylline Oracles.

An appendix to the dissertation briefly reviews Cicero's religious philosophical writings, finding that the Stoic-Platonic view toward which he inclines in *De Natura Deorum* and *Tusculans* 1 is less dogmatically asserted than his view of Roman religion in the speeches but is not inconsistent with it. An examination of certain letters reaffirms the conclusion of the main body of the thesis, that Cicero's "religion" was a moral, political, philosophical, and intellectual position, and was not based on deeply held, emotive beliefs. In the words of M. van den Bruwaene, Cicero had religious convictions, but not a religious mentality.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY   Degree in Classical Philology 1968

JOHN HENNIG KROLL — *The Bronze Allotment Plates of Fourth-Century* B.C. *Athens*

This thesis presents the first comprehensive study of the inscribed bronze pinakia used in the developed Athenian system of allotment by kleroteria. To date, some 170 pinakia and fragments (nearly double the number listed in *IG* II² 1835–1923) have been recovered, the whole specimens from the graves of their last owners, the fragments, which are more numerous, mostly as surface finds. Recent cleaning of the extant pinakia has virtually revolutionized our knowledge of these objects by revealing that the majority are multiple palimpsests, having been erased

and reinscribed for three, four, or even five owners. The bulk of the study consists of a lengthy catalogue, which gives new details and readings for nearly every piece. Each extant pinakion is illustrated with a photograph, and some also by a tracing to bring out obscure details.

The pinakia are dealt with more generally in four introductory chapters. The literary testimonia are cited in chapter 1: *Ath. Pol.* 63–64, the *locus classicus*, which describes how kleroteria and wooden pinakia were employed in the allotting of jurors every court day; and Demosthenes 39.10–12 (c. 348 B.C.), which informs that by the mid-fourth century bronze pinakia were being used in the annual allotments of citizens to the state magistracies. Literary, prosopographical, and archaeological evidence combine to indicate that bronze pinakia began to be issued c.378/377 B.C., possibly in that very year.

Chapter 2 is descriptive, outlining the physical features of the six stylistic classes of pinakia and the evidence which permits the classes to be arranged sequentially. The most important of the features are the triobol and gorgoneion seals which were stamped on the pinakia before they were inscribed, and which therefore are the clearest indication that the pinakia were state-issued. On the earliest pinakia (Classes I and II) only the triobol seal appears, stamped at the right. The gorgoneion seal is later introduced on the Class III pinakia, on which it is stamped at both the left *and* right ends, and on the contemporary Class IV pinakia, where it appears in conjunction with the triobol seal. Class V continues these composite triobol-gorgoneion pinakia in a special reform issue involving pinakia that were inscribed with holes pierced at the corners of letters so as to fix the names of the official owners, and to prevent the pinakia from being reinscribed illegally. The latest bronze pinakia are those which lacked stamped seals altogether (Class VI).

In chapter 3 various arguments are advanced for interpreting these seals. The triobol seal was added to the earliest pinakia simply as a stamp of certification that the pinakia were officially issued, and to protect against forged imitations. The triobol type was doubtless chosen because of its dikastic implications, three obols being virtually synonymous with jurors' pay, and marks the pinakia of Classes I, II, IV, and V as bonafide dikasts' pinakia.

The more complex behavior of the gorgoneion seal points to its use as a certification of pinakia which were employed in non-dikastic allotments, i.e., in the annual sortitions of magistrates. Its absence on the earliest (dikastic) pinakia demonstrates that the procedure of automated allotment by kleroteria and pinakia, invented and first used exclusively for the allotting of jurors, was not adopted for non-dikastic allotments

until after it had been tried and proved in connection with the courts. Once the procedure was appropriated for the annual magisterial allotments, a new kind of pinakia had to be issued to citizens who were not enrolled as dikasts. These were the Class III pinakia with a gorgoneion seal stamped at both left and right ends, as if to exclude the addition of a dikastic seal. Henceforth jurors' pinakia (Classes IV and V) also received a gorgoneion seal with their triobol seal, inasmuch as dikasts too were eligible to participate in the annual allotments to magistracies. The non-dikastic significance of the Class III pinakia is supported by several independent observations, which lead to an interpretation of the stampless Class VI pinakia as non-dikastic also. Since all available chronological evidence suggests that the pinakia with stamped seals were discontinued at least a decade before mid-century, whereas the stampless Class VI pinakia continued into the third quarter of the fourth century, there is good reason to believe that with the cessation of the stamped seals, dikasts' pinakia began to be made of wood and that during the third quarter of the century wooden dikastic pinakia coexisted with the non-dikastic pinakia of bronze.

Chapter 4 treats the pinakia as direct evidence for reconstructing the organization of the Athenian dikasteria. The repeated reuse of most pinakia implies that the pinakia were normally erased and reinscribed as many times as the bronze could stand before it broke and could be used no longer. The whole pinakia with only one or two uses are wholly misleading in this respect, since they had been removed from circulation when buried with a deceased owner, whereas the fragments, which had been so heavily reused that they broke and were discarded, represent the norm. From this it becomes evident that the dikastic pinakia, far from being issued permanently, were collected, reinscribed, and reissued at frequent intervals. And in view of the annual administration of the heliastic oath (Isokrates 16.21) and the overall organization of the Athenian constitution around annual terms of office, there can be little reasonable doubt that the dikastic pinakia were issued on an annual basis also. The continual reuse of the permanently issued non-dikastic pinakia is easily understood if we assume that the number of dikasts was limited, and that the number was filled by an annual allotment so that dikastic and non-dikastic pinakia were continually being exchanged as men were annually being allotted into and out of the body of dikastai. Such an annual allotment of a fixed number of jurors is confirmed by the theoretically unerasable Class V pinakia, which would make little sense if the courts were open to all eligible citizens merely upon application.

Thus the bronze pinakia at last give material grounds for accepting Aristophanes' figure of 6,000 dikastai as a precise figure for the fifth and at least the first half of the fourth century. The enrollment of dikastai on an annual basis probably continued through the time of the *Ath. Pol.*, but whether or not the body of dikasts remained limited in size and was still being filled by annual allotments as late as the *Ath. Pol.* must unfortunately remain undecided.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY   Degree in Classical Philology 1968

JANET MARION MARTIN — *John of Salisbury and the Classics*

Though it has long been recognized that the writings of John of Salisbury (d. 1180) display an impressive knowledge of ancient literature, most treatments of the subject have been unsatisfactory, largely because they fail to take into account the nature of the exemplars used by John. In order to evaluate accurately his acquaintance with a given work, it is necessary to find out whether his manuscript contained the full text or excerpts, what kind of readings it had, and where it belonged in the textual tradition; only then is it possible to consider such questions as John's use of the work, the information and ideas he derived from it, and the value it had for him. These principles have been applied in evaluating John's knowledge and use of five ancient authors in his *Policraticus*, or "Statesman's Book": Valerius Maximus, Petronius, Frontinus, Suetonius, and A. Gellius. The insights gained into John's working methods have then been applied to the famous *Institutio Traiani* invented by John and attributed by him to Plutarch.

For his citations from Valerius Maximus John relied in the early books of the *Policraticus* on the excerpts of Heiric of Auxerre; his manuscript was either the exemplar of the thirteenth-century Leipzig Rep. 1.4.48 or another copy of this exemplar. But even in the early books of the *Policraticus* John shows knowledge of more of Valerius' text than could be found in Heiric's excerpts; and in his last books he abandoned the excerpts for a manuscript of the complete text of Valerius.

John's citations from the *Satyricon* of Petronius go back to three of the four traditions in which the work was circulating in his day, as Konrad Müller demonstrated in the preface to his edition of Petronius (Munich 1961): the shorter excerpts (family *O*), the longer excerpts (family *L*), and the *Cena Trimalchionis*; he did not, however, use the florilegium tradition. He probably obtained his Petronius manuscripts

during his student years in France, not in England as was once suggested. John's extraordinary knowledge of the *Satyricon* and his genuine appreciation of the narrative and characters were unequaled before the seventeenth century.

For his citations from the *Strategemata* of Frontinus, still a relatively rare work in his day, John used a manuscript that closely resembled the early twelfth-century Oxford, Lincoln College, lat. 100, a manuscript copied in part by William of Malmesbury; John's manuscript was either the exemplar of William's or another copy of this exemplar. The relationship is most probably to be explained by the theory that both men made use of the libraries at Canterbury.

John did not consult a complete text of Suetonius' *De Vita Caesarum* while writing the *Policraticus*, but relied for his Suetonius quotations on the excerpts made by Heiric of Auxerre. Nevertheless, he paraphrased some passages of *De Vita Caesarum* that are not to be found in Heiric's excerpts; this, and the fact that the complete text was fairly accessible in the twelfth century, make it likely that John had read at least part of it in the past. Similarly, his quotations from the *Noctes Atticae* of A. Gellius came from a collection of excerpts rather than from a complete text; these excerpts, which cannot yet be identified with an extant collection, were used also by William of Malmesbury in his *Polyhistor*, as yet unprinted.

The deficiencies of John's exemplars explain many of the errors to be found in the *Policraticus*; thus John's dependence on Heiric for his Suetonius excerpts led him into errors that he would not have made if he had been using the normal text. In addition, John treated his sources very freely indeed, a fact that severely limits the value of his citations for editors of classical works. He did not consult other manuscripts to help him deal with the corruptions in his source, but arbitrarily changed the text so that it made acceptable sense. Consequently, any "good" readings peculiar to John's citations are his own conjectures and not witnesses to old transmitted readings; Petronius is a partial exception. One of the most characteristic aspects of John's treatment of his authorities is his willingness to alter the meaning of the text in order to make it more appropriate to his own argument; moreover, the pages of the *Policraticus* contain a number of outright inventions. Of these the most important is the *Institutio Traiani*, allegedly a political treatise written by Plutarch for the Emperor Trajan. For many years it was taken seriously as a late work based in part on the writings of Plutarch; but Hans Liebeschütz has argued convincingly that it was John's invention, a pseudoclassical authority and framework for the political

ideas he wished to recommend to his contemporaries. The germ of the *Institutio* was a story about Plutarch in Gellius *NA* 1.26; here Plutarch was shown as a writer on ethical subjects and a personality with qualities John considered essential for political figures. Inspired by this story, John said in *Policr.* 4.8 that Plutarch composed a political treatise for magistrates called the *Archigramaton*; the spurious *Archigramaton* was a crude prototype of the *Institutio Traiani*, which John was to introduce just fourteen pages further on.

John's additions to genuine works and his fabrications have deceived not a few distinguished scholars, who have thought that he knew classical works now lost wholly or in part, among them the lost sections of Cicero's *De Re Publica*. This belief in his use of lost works is based on unrealistic ideas of the transmission of classical works and of their availability in the twelfth century, as well as a lack of understanding of John's casual attitude toward his sources. Since the effect of these source studies is to reduce the significance of John's classical learning, it should be said that he may still be regarded as one of the most learned men of his time, if this assessment is understood realistically. In spite of his heavy reliance on compendia and excerpts, his failure to take full advantage of the rich libraries at Chartres and Canterbury, and his willful manipulations of his sources, his classical learning nevertheless must command the respect of every reader of the *Policraticus*.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY   Degree in Medieval Latin 1968

HUGH JOHN MASON — *Greek Versions of Roman Governmental Terminology*

This study undertakes an investigation of the words applied by the Greek writers, and in official documents expressed in Greek, to the administrative structure of the Roman Empire in the period from 100 B.C. to A.D. 250. The concern is to establish first of all their precise Roman reference; second, the context in which they were employed, whether they were part of an official standardized language of state or an author's literary approximation, and in what periods and places they might be found; and third, the kind of influences that led to the adoption or rejection of a given word.

The main part of the study, section 1, is a glossary of some 1200 Greek words with their Latin equivalents. Each equation is accompanied by a number of examples to illustrate the context in which the

Greek term is employed; where possible, there has been included an indication of the date of inscriptions and papyri, and where they were found.

For the majority of words, the discussion in the glossary is a sufficient indication of their meaning and use; but for the more complex terms, those which have more than one reference, or where a variety of Greek words are equivalent to a single Roman term, where, in short, a simple glossary entry is not adequate, there is a more extended discussion in section 2.

This section is in 26 chapters, in which the following topics are taken up : (1) *immunitas*; (2) ἀνθύπατος; (3) ἀντιστράτηγος; (4) *colonia*; (5) ἀρχή; (6) words formed with the prefix ἀρχι-; (7) the Roman priestly colleges; (8) ἄρχω; (9) αὐτοκράτωρ; (10) βασιλεύς; (11) *senatus*; (12) *divus*; (13) government enactments, *edicta, decreta, rescripta, mandata*, and *constitutiones*; (14) διέπω; (15) *provincia*; (16) *imperium*; (17) ἔπαρχος; (18) *ab epistulis* and similar offices; (19) ἐπίτροπος; (20) ἡγεμών; (21) ἡγέομαι; (22) κηδεμών; (23) πρεσβευτής and other expressions for *legatus*; (24) στρατηγός; (25) ταξίαρχος; (26) ὕπατος and its derivatives.

In the elucidation of these terms, appeal is frequently made to more general topics, such as the degree to which Latin loanwords were adopted, and the influence of contemporary Atticism. These topics are discussed in section 3. An introduction outlines the critical differences between literary and official usage, stressing the origin of these differences in trends that began before the Roman period. The first chapter discusses Latin loanwords under two classifications: the degree to which they were the standard and official formulation, and the degree to which they were accepted as Greek words and produced Greek derivative forms. A distinction is made between those cases where the Latin was so distinctive that any Greek equivalent was impossible and those where the political dominance of Latin led to the replacement of the usual Greek term by the Latin. The chapter closes with a brief note on the effect of Latin abbreviations on Greek.

In chapters 2 and 3, variations of terminology in particular areas and over a period of time are discussed. Although there are some important changes, especially in the use of ἡγεμών and στρατηγός, these variations are shown to be relatively restricted.

Chapter 4 outlines the particular effect Atticism had on terminology; largely a negative one, eliminating many standard terms such as ἀνθύπατος from the vocabulary of careful writers and producing, as a result, a greater use of nonspecific terms such as ἄρχων and ἡγεμών. Chapter 5 shows the effects of another kind of Atticism, a tendency to

explain Roman institutions with regard to those of Classical Greece and hence to apply to them terms suitable only to the constitutions of Athens or Sparta. The lack of precise similarity between the institutions compared is shown not infrequently to have obscured the Roman reference of many of these terms.

The fourth and final section explores the versions employed by various individual authors. The first chapter points out cases where the language of an inscription appears to have been influenced by an individual personality; the second discusses the expressions employed in the Greek versions of the *Res Gestae* of Augustus, and suggests, on the basis of several nonstandard versions of the Latin, the frequent employment of literary formulations, and the parallel of the Greek documents of Claudius, that the translator was a man of some culture and standing.

The third chapter deals with the writers of the triumviral and Augustan periods, Diodorus Siculus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Strabo, and Nicolaus of Damascus. Plutarch is discussed in chapter 4; in chapter 5, the Jewish writers, the New Testament, Philo, and Josephus. The general correctness of the New Testament, especially of Luke and of Acts, is stressed; in contrast, there are shown to be many areas, especially the treatment of provincial governors, where Josephus and Philo differ markedly from the standard formulations. It is suggested that ἡγεμών, the term applied to the governor of Judaea in the New Testament, may have been, as it was in Egypt, a formal title.

Chapter 6 discusses the writers of the second century, the historians Appian, Arrian, and Aelian, and the orators and essayists, Dio Chrysostom, Lucian, and Aelius Aristides. The terminology of all these writers is shown to have been heavily influenced by Attic canons. In chapter 7, the main writers of the age of the Severi, Cassius Dio, Herodian, and Philostratus, are discussed, and there are seen to have been a number of expressions common to them which suggest, if not actual contact, at least the existence of a literary milieu, probably centered on the court itself, in which they participated. An eighth and final chapter discusses the Greek passages in the *Digesta*.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY   Degree in Classical Philology 1968

DONALD A. PREZIOSI — *Minoan Palace Planning and Its Origins*

In 1964–1966 a study was undertaken of the remains of Bronze Age construction in the Aegean Basin in an attempt to establish certain underlying principles of Minoan and other Aegean architectural design.

Some 330 structures at 90 sites were surveyed and measured; evidence for planning and layout procedures and for modular and proportional design canons was sought. The results of the survey are presented in the following manner.

Chapter 1 is a presentation of the plans of the structures examined in Crete, the Aegean and Western Anatolia, and mainland Greece. Interleaved among the plans is a series of transparencies plotting the dimensions of each structure. Where necessary, metrological commentary is appended and problems concerning the remains are discussed, particularly where published groundplans differ from the extant state of the remains.

The measurements collected in the first chapter are analyzed in chapter 2, again by means of interleaved transparencies and groundplans, with a view toward the establishment of the modular principles underlying the design of each structure. Necessarily prerequisite to a study of the design is a complete tabulation of the evidence for units of linear measure employed by the builders. Structures are examined in the same (alphabetical) order of presentation followed in the first chapter.

On this level of analysis the result is the establishment of a network of modular usage and proportional canon; it is seen that several subsystems may be established, based on modular practice, proportional canon, identity of groundplan, and orientation. It is also seen that these various subsystems are not necessarily coterminous in a geographical sense; certain proportional canons, for example, are employed in certain specific areas regardless of the builders' modules employed.

Evidence is seen for four builders' modules in use in the Aegean area during the Bronze Age: labeled A, B, C, and D (.2704, .3380, .4330, .3036), they are employed often at the same site simultaneously regardless of chronological subperiod. The metrological results are tabulated at the end of the chapter according to structure, relative size, and frequency of occurrence. It is seen that module A enjoys the widest use (c. 50 percent), with module B accounting for approximately 33 percent.

In chapter 3 the mathematical interrelationships of the four modules are examined (section 3.1); it is found that basically two subgroups exist, one based on module B (of which modules A and C are seen as simple proportional derivations), the other on module D. It is further seen that the interrelationships of the module B cluster reflect the proportional terms of a canon of proportion employed in the design of many of the structures examined, based on the ratio 5:8 or 1:1.6; harmonic analyses of some 50 structures are made in section 3.2. The

resultant harmonic system is seen to be based on the principles of a Fibonacci (summation) series whereby sections of a structure are proportionally related to each other in the ratios 1,2,3,5,8,13,21,34,55 · · · Evidence for the use of such a harmonic system in contemporary Egypt is also discussed.

In section 3.3 an examination is made of the underlying principles of Minoan palatial design, under the following headings: 3.3.1, layout procedures, involving the evidence for the actual staking out of a palace design during construction; the palaces of Phaistos, Mallia, and Knossos are examined in detail, with reference to Gournia, Plati, and Kato Zakro. A solution is found for the significance of the form and positioning within a palace of the traditional Minoan double-axe "mason's mark." Section 3.3.2.1 is a discussion of the evidence for traditional procedures in palace orientation with reference to solar position; under 3.3.2.2 is discussed the evidence for deliberate alignment of certain elements within a palace on prominent local topographical landmarks. Minoan palace design is seen as embodying certain sophisticated concepts and practices occasionally shared by a number of contemporary non-Aegean architectures.

Chapter 4 contains an examination of the evidence for possible vectoral qualities in the diffusion of certain design techniques (e.g., modular and harmonic practices) to and from the Aegean area during the Bronze Age; a provisional derivational model is constructed in final summation. The problems of architectural "origins" are discussed, resulting in the establishment of certain specific design and layout procedures shared by Minoan and other contemporary architectures.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY   Degree in Classical Archaeology 1968

PAUL TRAYWICK — *ΘEOI and AΓAΘHI TYXHI in Headings of Attic Inscriptions*

This study begins from a survey of headings of virtually all published decrees of the Athenian Boulê and Ekklesia. The total number of stones inspected is 479; they are in the Epigraphical Museum in Athens, the sculpture collection of the National Archaelogical Museum, the Acropolis Museum, and the Stoa of Attalos.

Headings in general may be divided into two classes: (1) those which indicate contents of the accompanying texts, by specifying the business of the decrees or by naming peoples or persons as parties to the transactions; (2) those which refer decrees to particular administrations, by

citing tenants of office. Most of these kinds of heading had begun to be obsolescent by the end of the fourth century B.C.; then, with so many inscribed monuments standing in Attica, designers must have begun to think it futile to go on signalizing inscribed documents by the physical embellishment of various kinds of annotation that headings could provide.

The element *ΘΕΟΙ* arose with the others about mid-fifth century. It never varied or entered into clarifying contexts, therefore remaining incapable of conveying specific information, and so of course belongs in neither class (1) nor (2). It must have been adopted for other reasons. It was not abandoned for the same reasons, but rather flourished, and finally predominated, down to the first century B.C.

But *ΘΕΟΙ* as heading was regularly denied the physical splendor characteristic of other elements. In the period of its greatest frequency — the third, second, and early first centuries — it appears usually in normal or smaller letters, spaced out over nearly the whole width of the stele, and either crowded under the spring of the surface, a position of relegation, or inscribed on the fascia, which only larger letters can make a banner.

ΘΕΟΙ as heading gave way, during the first century, to the phrase ἀγαθῆι τύχηι, itself an ancient element whose progress from text to heading can be charted without discontinuity. In the history of development of the headings of Attic decrees, the two elements define themselves as qualitatively and quantitatively different from all others.

The second section attempts to explain the meanings of these expressions. Their forms are explored and translations sought. The proposition that *ΘΕΟΙ* is meant as old Attic and stands for θεῷ is considered and rejected, principally because the orthography never gave way and because the identity of the hypothetical (one) god was never made known through elaboration. The form must be plural, either vocative or nominative. But lack of an article leaves the alternatives. No translation beyond "gods" is justified.

᾿Αγαθῆι τύχηι is easier to explain, because it comes to headings from a clarifying context, the δεδόχθαι phrase of the regular form of decrees, where it is plainly the adverbial dative. There is no religious connotation, for the origin of the phrase in decrees antedates the apotheosis of Agathê Tychê. All the epigraphical evidence for her cult is adduced. It is slight by comparison with the regular occurrences of ἀγαθῆι τύχηι and does not begin until the later fourth century B.C. "With favoring fortune" seems the best translation.

Ephebic inscriptions from the early Roman period in Attica illustrate

the process by which ἀγαθῆι τύχηι must have replaced θεοί as heading. The official phrase *victoria Augusti*, common in Latin inscriptions from Rome, was used as heading, rendered in Greek thus: νείκη Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος (for example). But this literal translation missed the sense of the original. *Victoria* was abstract and meant not "conquest" but "fateful supremacy." The native phrase ἀγαθῆι τύχηι, which had long been connected with the Athenian bodies politic (ἀγαθῆι τύχει τῆι Ἀθεναίον, κτλ.) and had by now at least a color of divinity, borrowed from the later cult of Agathê Tychê, was far more satisfactory as an indication of the imperial attribute. By this way it came to headings: ἀγαθῆι τύχηι Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος (for example). Yet its greatest extension as heading was as sole element, i.e., apart from the imperial title.

The extension of the phrase was on the analogy of θεοί, which had filled some need apparently never quite forgotten.

What was meant by θεοί and ἀγαθῆι τύχηι? Scholarship, which has not to any considerable extent been exercised upon the question, has yielded some few suggestions, but these have been either incorrect or unwrought. Most promising is Larfeld's explanation of the phrases as *Weiheformeln* (*Handbuch* II 591), which might be correct if understood very generally (i.e., opposing *weihen* to *widmen*). But dedicatory formulae have the datives of recipients' names, and other explicit formulae of consecration — on altars, sacred vessels, even two inscribed stelai — have the genitives of divine names. Besides, no known consecration formula is so unspecific: in all others — failing proper names, epithets, or clarifying contexts — forms of the article at least appear to show that, though not denoted, particular divinities are nevertheless meant.

If θεοί as heading does not signify that the stones on which it appears are consecrate, it may perhaps still indicate commendation to the gods of textual contents. In the case of decrees of the Boulê and Ekklesia, because the interest of the decerning bodies would be to commend their own transactions, the answer would depend upon the question whether θεοί as heading had an official source, that is, whether the secretary, whom the ἀναγράψαι phrase charges with publication, prescribed headings in an official capacity.

The absence of headings from decrees recorded in ancient authors probably means that headings were absent also from archive copies, the original secretarial drafts. This fact, together with the irregularity — in disposition, content, and occurrence — of headings, set against the rigid constancy of the form of the preamble (the one part of the decree form composed entirely by secretaries, answerable to the Council for its

accuracy), suggests that all elements of heading, especially θεοί, which has no discernible connection with official matters, must have been prescribed by secretaries as citizens who were indeed officials of the Council but were not in these instances acting under the Council's directives or even its scrutiny.

Retrogressing beyond the origins of headings for proper inscriptions on stone, the third section of this study presents a series of *varia* — a painted bookroll, vases, private inscriptions on metal, architectural fragments, and shards with graffiti — showing that θεοί has a much longer history, even in Attica, than was formerly believed. In origin the phrase is private, not public. It was capable of very diverse applications.

Even if no instance were extant, this diversity would allow assumption of a common source in which the word θεοί was autonomous, associated with no text. As it is, we have it alone on a fragment of an Attic roof-tile, dating probably from the very early fifth century B.C. Here the word is surely not meaningless, but its meaning will not have to do with other words.

Θεοί appears in headings of proper inscriptions at first very sparsely. Considering the relative durabilities of stone on the one hand, baked clay and lead foil (and parchment) on the other, the headings may not be considered to have been in the early period notably associated with proper inscriptions on stone.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY   Degree in Classical Philology 1968

JANE COHN WALDBAUM — *The Use of Iron in the Eastern Mediterranean:*
1200–900 B.C.

The accepted criterion for calling an archaeological period an "iron age" is that iron is the material found to be in "common use" for utilitarian purposes, i.e. tools and weapons. All too often, however, the appearance of a few iron swords or knives in an occasional tomb is cited as showing that iron is in common use, but no account is taken of the frequency of these occurrences, the number of objects and types of objects involved in a given period, or of their relation to the use of bronze and other materials in the same period.

The present study is an attempt to define the transition from the Bronze Age in the Eastern Mediterranean through an objective approach to the material evidence which is currently available. When and where iron began to be introduced extensively, for what types of objects it was first utilized in quantity, and how it stood in relation to bronze at the

end of the Bronze Age and in the earliest phases of the Early Iron Age are considered.

Data on metal objects of iron, bronze, gold, silver, and lead from Anatolia, Egypt, North Syria, Palestine, Cyprus, Greece, Crete, and the Aegean Islands, dating to the 12th, 11th, and 10th centuries B.C., were collected and recorded in a set of IBM punch cards. These were then sorted and counted on IBM data-processing equipment, and numbers of objects of each type, material, date, and provenance were tabulated. Over 4,000 metal objects were categorized in this manner. Most of them came from published sources, but some unpublished material was supplied by the excavators or studied in museum collections.

The criteria for selection of material and the limitations involved in the use of material from each area are discussed in chapter 1. In general, only excavated objects which could be reasonably well dated and authenticated were included.

In chapter 2 the evidence for the use of iron in both the Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age is presented and discussed. Individual iron objects from each area studied are catalogued by site of origin and by date, and the total for each geographic region is arranged in tables. Numerical increase from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age and from the 12th to 10th centuries is noted, both in general and in the categories of weapons and armor, tools, jewelry, and miscellaneous types of objects.

It was found that in areas where excavated evidence is sufficient (Syria, Palestine, Cyprus, Greece) there is a definite increase in the number of iron objects found beginning in the 12th century and continuing in the 11th and 10th centuries. The number of iron tools and weapons from 12th-century contexts equaled that for the entire Late Bronze Age, and the amount of iron jewelry was greater. Tools, weapons, and jewelry increased substantially in both the 11th and 10th centuries, with the heaviest increases in Greece and the Aegean Islands in the 10th century, in Crete in the 11th century, and in Syria, Palestine, and Cyprus in both the 11th and 10th centuries. Quantities of objects from Anatolia and Egypt in this period are as yet insufficient for meaningful analysis.

The figures in chapter 2 suggest that use of iron in the Eastern Mediterranean increased substantially from c. 1200 to c. 900 B.C., but they do not show the relationship of the use of iron to that of other materials, especially bronze, which was the primary metal for tools and weapons in the Near East up to at least 1200 B.C.

Chapter 3 contains a comparative survey of iron in relationship to bronze and other metals in use in the 12th, 11th, and 10th centuries B.C. Objects of bronze, gold, silver, and lead are not treated individually

but are presented in tables together with the figures for iron. The tables show that the increase in number of iron objects in the Early Iron Age is significant and reflects more than just an increase in overall number of metal finds from later contexts.

Next, to facilitate comparison of figures and to determine whether there was a proportional change in the amount of iron tools and weapons vis-à-vis bronze, the numerical information from each region was reduced to percentages and the results shown on bar graphs. These graphs show that there is a significant proportional increase in the use of iron in relation to bronze from the 12th through 10th centuries B.C. in Syria, Palestine, Cyprus, and Greece, and perhaps in Crete and the Aegean Islands, where data was insufficient for accurate judgment.

Iron reaches major proportions (over 50 percent) for weapons, in every area studied except Syria, by the 10th century and appears in significant proportions (over 25 percent) in the 11th century in Syria, Cyprus, and Greece, and perhaps in Crete and the Aegean Islands. Iron may therefore be said to be in common use for weapons in the Eastern Mediterranean in the 10th century.

In Palestine, where there are the greatest number and variety of tools from Early Iron Age contexts, iron appeared in close to significant proportions in the 11th century and in major proportions, or "common use," in the 10th. Numbers of tools in other areas are smaller, but results similar to those in Palestine are observable almost everywhere. For tools too, then, iron appears in common use throughout the Eastern Mediterranean by the 10th century and in significant or major proportions in some areas by the 11th.

In terms of our criterion of "common use" for tools and weapons, it is now possible to say that the full Iron Age in the Eastern Mediterranean definitely appears by the 10th century, and, in some areas, possibly in the 11th. Furthermore, in every area for which we have sufficient evidence, iron was used in some degree for both tools and weapons in the 12th century. The term "Early Iron Age" covering the whole period thus seems justified if understood to mean a period of transition from bronze to iron as a major material for the manufacture of tools, weapons, and even jewelry. Bronze, however, does not go out of use in this period, showing that the transitional stage is not yet complete by the end of the 10th century.

Some suggestions on why iron began to be developed extensively in the Eastern Mediterranean around 1200 B.C. are offered in chapter 4. With the present state of our knowledge it is impossible to arrive at a definitive answer to this question. It is clear, however, that traditional

theories, which take into account only one factor, or one area, such as the breakup of the Hittite Empire and supposed monopoly on iron, or the invasion of iron-bearing Dorians into Greece, are not sufficient to account for the widespread and remarkably consistent development of iron throughout the Eastern Mediterranean in this period.

It is more probable that economic and political factors affecting the entire region around the turn of the 12th century B.C. made the development of iron as a partial substitute for bronze a necessity.

Metallographic and chemical analyses of contemporary iron and bronze objects to determine their relative quality for utilitarian purposes, and a clearer understanding of the availability of copper, tin, and iron in the Eastern Mediterranean in the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages, would go far toward answering the question of why the Iron Age began.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY   Degree in Classical Archaeology 1968

ERNEST JOSEPH WEINRIB — *The Spaniards in Rome from Marius to Domitian*

The revitalization of the Roman upper classes through the absorption of prominent provincials has now become a conspicuous theme in ancient history, primarily as a result of the monumental researches of Sir Ronald Syme. This dissertation attempts to illuminate certain aspects of this process with special reference to the Spanish Romans, from their first appearance in Roman politics until the death of Domitian and the subsequent elevation of Trajan. Throughout, the emphasis has been on detailed interpretation of special points; no attempt has been made to provide an exhaustive treatment of well-known material.

The first chapter deals with the Spaniards in Rome during the declining decades of the late Republic. The concept of *clientela* is fundamental to the consideration of Spanish participation in Roman politics, and all the Spaniards of this period who aspire to political careers can be connected with varying degrees of certainty to prominent Romans who had seen service in the Iberian peninsula. In isolated cases such as the Vibii Paciaeci and the Cornelii Balbi, one can see that these Spaniards had been active in local politics as well as connected with important personalities in the metropolis. The record of the activities of the Cornelii·Balbi in Gades, their native city, reveals that such local politics could be murderous and that Gades was by no means the

exemplar of loyalty to Caesar which it is often assumed to be. In Gades, as in the rest of Ulterior, political allegiance was not a simple matter. Caesar himself emphasized his own popularity in Hispania Ulterior and his claims on its *clientela*, but in this he was exaggerating. Pompey's claims were just as strong and are reflected in the continual resurgence of the Pompeian movement in Ulterior during the civil war. The usual expedient of ascribing these Pompeian outbreaks to repression by the Caesarian governor Q. Cassius Longinus will not do, since Longinus seems merely to have been implementing arrangements made by Caesar.

The second chapter is devoted to the Annaei and their connections with fellow Spaniards and with figures of prominence in Rome. By the time of the elder Seneca's arrival in Rome, Spaniards were beginning to make a mark in the world of letters, and Seneca's interest in rhetoric exposed him to contact both with the large contingent of Spanish rhetoricians and with important personalities in Roman politics. Some of the connections of subsequent Annaei may owe their origins to the activities of the elder Seneca. There is, however, no reason to suppose that the Annaei were closely associated with Sejanus. When the younger Seneca reached a position of power, he and his family lent their patronage and support to other rising Spaniards such as the Dillii of Corduba (who may have been related) and to literary figures like Columella, Fabius Rusticus, and the young Martial.

The third chapter deals with the increasingly notable Spanish influence during the first two dynasties of the Empire. Spaniards were probably attaining to minor grades in senatorial and equestrian careers under the Julio-Claudians, but it is only under Claudius and Nero that they penetrated to positions of power and prestige, and it is at this time that attestation of their presence becomes more abundant. Spaniards of both native and immigrant-Italian stock play a role in this process. By the time of the civil war, many were in a position to influence events, and the records of those turbulent times form a triumphant vindication of their energy and ability. The proclamation of Galba, the long-term legate of Hispania Tarraconensis, and his need for local support provided an additional impetus to the ambitions of the Spanish upper classes. Most of the Spaniards who profited from the civil war were young men who were available for further advancement under the Flavians, and in some cases (e.g. Ulpius Traianus [cos. 70], Dillius Aponianus [cos. 71?], Raecius Gallus [cos. 84?]) promotion was very swift indeed. In the principate of Domitian a new generation of Spaniards

came to the fore, who were to supply prominent personalities in subsequent years.

There are two appendices. The first discusses the family of the Titii known from *Bellum Africum* 28. The second concludes that the phrase "ex privato consularis" used by Velleius Paterculus 2.51.3 to describe the younger Balbus is probably to be applied to the elder Balbus.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY   Degree in Classical Philology 1968